The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1898.

The Week.

Our flag went up in San Juan on Tuesday week by right of conquest. That is agreed on all hands. Some enthusiasts have been heard to exclaim, "Oh that Blaine had lived to see this glorious day!" If he had, he would have blushed for his country, for he came out openly against the right of conquest. Owing to his personal exertions, the Pan-American Congress was induced to adopt resolutions declaring that "the principle of conquest shall not . . . be recognized as admissible under American public law." The Congress went further, and resolved that "all cessions of territory . . . made under threats of war or the presence of an armed force . . . shall be void." Who would suppose that we were living in a millennial epoch like that only eight years ago? The poet Whittier shed tears of joy over the adoption by Mr. Blaine of Quaker principles to put an end to war, and there was one of the greatest furlings of battle-flags ever seen. But we have changed all that.

Admiral Sampson's full report sufficiently explains why Admiral Schley has never countenanced the foolish attempt to make him out the true naval hero of Santiago. The official dispatches now make it clear that he blundered badly in staying at Cienfuegos for days after he should have been at Santiago. He was so sure he had Cervera trapped in Cienfuegos harbor that he came perilously near disobeying orders. All the information the department had that the Spanish squadron had gone to Santiago, Schley put aside as a "ruse" of the enemy; and on May 23, when he should have been well on his way to Santiago, he wrote from Cienfuegos, "I think I have them here almost to a certainty." In fact, if Cervera had not blundered as badly as Schley, he would not have been caught in Santiago at all. Sampson had ordered Schley (always, of course, leaving him a certain margin of discretion) to be off Santiago by the morning of May 24. Now from the diary of the British Consul at Santiago, the late F. W. Ramsden, we learn that the Spanish fleet got up steam and ordered pilots on the evening of May 23; on May 24 was "ready for sea"; and on May 25 went down the bay, though, for reasons never made clear, it did not put out. Schley did not arrive till May 27, three days late. His blunder gave Cervera a chance to escape. That he did not avail himself of it does not lessen the blunder.

A "high official" in the State Department says the Government is going to need the services, in its new possessions, of a great many trained men, able to speak Spanish, and knowing something of affairs. He says the schools and colleges should bestir themselves to educate this class of public servants and call their attention to the opportunities open to them. We have no wish to throw the slightest doubt on the sincerity of this high official. If he is the highest official of all in the department, he has had abundant opportunities in the past two years to learn that a colonial service must be trained and competent or go to wreck. But it is not to the schools and colleges that the high official should address his appeals. They will do their work without urging. Men of the kind desired can be had in plenty. But can they be appointed? It is to William McKinley, LL.D., that the high official should go. Fresh from his academic honors, with the doctor's purple hood still halo-like upon him, he will be eager to make room in the public service for scholars. But will he? What test has he applied to consuls? Did he require Saylor, named for Matanzas, to be able to speak Spanish? Or was it enough that he should simply be one of Quay's obedient thieves? The President may suddenly become enamoured of scholarship and competency; but if he does, it will be something like a conversion. At any rate, as we said, he is the man for the high official to apply to. Reform promised by high officials is good, but we shall believe in it when we see it put in force by the highest official.

The feeling of the people regarding service by their fathers, sons, and brothers in an army garrisoning colonial possessions was well illustrated by the action of a public meeting at Utica last week. Company E of the First New York Regiment is made up of men from that city. The regiment is now stationed at Honolulu. The meeting on Monday evening was composed of the parents and relatives of these men. Resolutions were adopted, with but a single dissenting voice, declaring that "the spirit of the enlistment was that they were to serve for two years, or during the war"; that "the war is ended, and the purpose for which the men enlisted is answered"; that "the Government be and it is hereby respectfully requested to discharge said regiment from the service, to the end that the men who do not desire to remain in the service may return to their former vocations"; requesting the Congressman from the district to present the resolutions to the War Department and to urge compliance with the request; and appointing a committee of three to urge the other cities and towns represented by companies in the regiment to take similar action. The adoption of the resolutions was preceded by a discussion which showed that the grossest abuses have existed in the treatment of these troops at the Hawaiian capital.

There are signs that "Labor" is beginning to realize its interest in the question of a national expansion which would bring within the limits of the United States millions of people of inferior Asiatic races, at a time when many are insisting that the country already suffers from too large an infusion of the inferior races of Europe, and when we have rigorous laws against the admission of the Chinese. The most striking of all the speeches delivered at the Chicago Peace Jubilee was one by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who indulged in no grandiloquent phrases about the "Destiny" of the nation, but pointed out in a straightforward way what the annexation of the Philippines would really involve for our people, and particularly for the workingmen. He declared that, if we take those islands, we shall be in the midst of the conflict which has already begun among the European nations for the partition and possession of the Eastern countries, and that this would mean that "we shall have to follow the monarchical policy of large standing armies with immense navies"; "we shall not only have to bear the heavy burdens of debt and taxation exceeding that of other nations, but we shall come to that point against which the genius of our institutions revolts—compulsory military duty." Mr. Gompers proceeded to show the difficulties which will be encountered in guarding against an incursion of "pauper labor."

Some interesting things were said at the dinner of the Massachusetts Club in Boston on Saturday. Gen. Woodford was one of the guests, and he spoke with more freedom regarding the relations of this country with Spain than ever before since his return from Madrid last spring. He said that his instructions when he was sent as Minister to Spain were threefold. "He was enjoined to secure justice to the suffering people of Cuba, to insist upon protection to the great American and commercial interests of the United States in the island of Cuba, and to seek these ends so long as it was possible by ways of peace, and, if possible, to avoid and avert war." In conformity with these instructions, he said directly to the Spanish Government that, in the judgment of the President, permament, assured peace could come in Cuba

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only by the withdrawal of Spanish authority from that island; and he said as frankly and directly to the representative of every foreign Power, as they met him in diplomatic discussion, that the United States did not desire the annexation of Cuba, or the establishment of any protectorate over the island, but that the interests of the United States—humanitarian, commercial, and sanitary—required that there should be peace in Cuba upon conditions that should be permanent and, therefore, helpful. The first effort was to secure the withdrawal from Cuba of Gen. Weyler, then serving as Governor-General with the understanding that he should remain two years, or until the spring of 1898. Gen. Woodford reached Madrid September 1, 1897, was presented to the Queen Regent September 13, had his first official interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs September 18, addressed his first official communication to the Government September 23, and "before the 4th day of October the Conservative ministry, that had given its pledge to Gen. Weyler, resigned, left power, and before the end of October Gen. Weyler had been withdrawn from the island of Cuba." Next came the proclamation of a system of autonomy for the island, and negotiations were progressing so favorably that Gen. Woodford declared it to be his "deliberate belief that, had the *Maine* not been blown up in the harbor of Havana, and had not that singular and undiplomatic letter of Señor de Lome been discovered, before the close of the summer of 1898 the Spanish flag would have left the island of Cuba without the firing of a shot or the loss of a life."

Gen. Woodford was quite as frank in expressing his views about the future of Cuba as about its past. Speaking from what he saw in Spain and from what he was able to learn regarding the population of Cuba, he declared that he did "not believe that it is possible for Cuba to establish a government that shall protect the insurgents against the Spaniards, or the Spaniards against the insurgents, or establish secure and stable government." He holds that we are bound to give the Cubans every opportunity to establish local home government, but he is convinced that all their attempts must fail, and consequently he is "constrained to the personal belief that it will be necessary to maintain the occupation, the American occupation, of the island of Cuba until such time as Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, people acquainted with the methods and the theory of self-government, shall have gone into that island in sufficient numbers to enable the fever to be stamped out on the one side and good order established on the other." As for the Philippines, Gen. Woodford falls in with those who believe that "Destiny" has unloaded them on our hands, but he is honest enough to acknowledge that "we are not, as a people, trained to the very generous and considerate and thoughtful treatment of inferior races," and that "we have not made such a tremendous success in the negro problem at the South as to make us hurry to assume the responsibility of governing inferior races, whether they are in the Caribbean Sea or in the far-off Philippine Islands." He also admitted that the traditional and inherited tendency of both our political parties to regard public places as the reward for partisan service is a grave obstacle, because "you will never administer Porto Rico, you will never administer Cuba, you will never administer Hawaii, you will never administer the Philippine Islands upon the theory that because a man has successfully run a primary in Boston or a caucus in New York, therefore he is qualified to govern, to rule, to administer, to represent the United States in the distant colonies." But as to how we are to overcome such an obstacle as this, how we are to become more considerate of inferior races in the East and West Indies than we are to-day of such races in the South and West, Gen. Woodford had nothing more hopeful to say in conclusion than the grandiloquent declaration that "I do believe that the clock of the world will not move backward, and that, wherever our flag has gone, there the liberty, the civilization, and the humanity which that flag represents and embodies must remain, and, God helping us, remain for ever."

The most striking feature of the very impressive meeting of the New York bar in Carnegie Hall last Friday was the speech of Bourke Cockran, with its graphic picture of what bossism is and what it means in a democracy. Probably no man in the city is able to speak with more authority on this subject than Mr. Cockran, for he has had exceptional opportunities for obtaining intimate knowledge of the system which he describes. Yet he speaks only what every intelligent citizen knows to be the truth when he says that a "nominal government is installed at the city hall, but the real government is exercised at the Democratic Club," that all the ten thousand men who are nominally in the employ of the city government hold their office through the favor or forbearance of the boss, "whose decrees, though unregistered, are more powerful than the law, yet whose existence is not recognized by the law, whose nod can make a fortune or unmake a career." All this is a notorious fact, and scarcely less notorious a fact is the following description by Mr. Cockran of the power of the boss in other directions:

> "Every financial interest in this great city courts his favor and dreads his hostility. If to-day he was to declare that he needed $1,000,000 for political purposes, before next Friday $2,000,000 would be furnished. What office-holder, lifted into public employment by his favor, would hesitate to prove his gratitude by contributing to his treasury or to show the fervor of his hopes of retention? There are 300,000 who want to get into office, who would eagerly vie with each other to attract his attention by liberal contributions. What contractor would refuse to divide a portion of his profits, with the hope of obtaining larger and further awards? What corporation, exercising a franchise in this city, would hesitate to cultivate the favor of him from whom an interview might send its stock soaring above the mystic line known as par, or descending into the gloomy level which evokes the spectres of bankruptcy and liquidation? If he desire social success, his nominations are bestowed to lift his favorites to positions of honor and of prominence. If anybody refused to give him the position to which he thought he was entitled, that person might find an engine-house erected in his back yard."

It is merely the extension of this power to the bench, that final refuge of democratic government, as the speakers pointed out with so much earnestness, which the boss is now proposing to effect. Will he be able to accomplish it? Are the people of the city aroused against it in such irresistible force as to make its defeat certain? Will they say to Croker on November 8, as Mr. Cockran predicts they will: "Our municipal chamber is yours to dominate and control; our streets are yours to pave, to sweep, to light, to confer upon your favorites for special privileges, but the judiciary you shall not touch. You may take these, but you shall go no further"? If they are going to say this, they are wonderfully quiet now. Has long tolerance of bossism so dulled their perceptive faculties as well as their moral sense and their patriotism, that they are unable to exert themselves even when the final assault is made upon their free government? Here is a "parochial issue" which is certainly of sufficient moment to command all our attention, even in the immediate presence of Manifest Destiny in its most entrancing form.

Croker is by all odds the most effective campaigner for Col. Roosevelt that there is in the field. He is calling public attention to himself and to his system of government in a way which leaves no doubt in anybody's mind as to what he represents in politics. He is thus bringing it home to the minds of the people what bossism really is. When he admits, as he did in his first deliverance upon the subject, that he would not allow Justice Daly to be renominated because he (Daly) had not given "proper consideration" to Croker's demands, since Tammany "has a right to expect proper consideration" from a judge whom it has put upon the bench, he gives everybody to understand that what he expects of his nominees for the bench he expects also of his nominees for other positions, including the governorship. A declaration like that is well calculated to give pause to people who were thinking of voting for Van Wyck for Gov-

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ernor. Croker himself appears to have discovered that as a politic manœuvre this declaration had defects, for he tried on Monday to modify it somewhat to break the force of it, by personal abuse of Justice Daly and of the lawyers who are advocating his reëlection. Elihu Root is a bad man, who was bribed by that other bad man, Tweed; the Bar Association is composed of a "lot of corporation and Trust lawyers"; Bourke Cockran is a man who "left the Democratic party for that party's good," and if anybody wants particulars, let him apply to Croker personally for them. As for Justice Daly, he was not nominated because Tammany did not think he had sufficient ability for the position. "Never in the history of the organization," says Croker now, "has any leader of Tammany Hall asked of or suggested to any judge upon the bench in any part of this State anything connected with his judicial duty." This is quite different from the statement of October 15: "Justice Daly was elected by Tammany Hall, after he was discovered by Tammany Hall, and Tammany Hall had a right to expect proper consideration at his hands." Can it be that Croker is losing his "nerve"?

It is unfortunate for Col. Roosevelt that while he is promising to reform canal matters and turn all rascals out, the Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor should be declaring at every opportunity that there have been no canal rascalities, and that another State official, who is also on the stump for Roosevelt, Mr. Ainsworth, Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction, should, as he did in Cooper Institute on Monday evening, enter into an elaborate defence of the canal work, and endeavor to show that there had been nothing either corrupt or extravagant or reprehensible in it. Senator Lodge contributed a valuable bit of information in the same direction when he informed us that we should not know much about the subject until Gov. Black's commission had made its full report! Before he gives us some more advice as to how we should vote, somebody should inform Mr. Lodge that the report was very "full," and was referred to the Attorney-General of the State by the Governor with request that he report as to whether criminal prosecution of anybody was necessary, that the Attorney-General dodged this painful duty, and it is now in process of performance or evasion by a private attorney whose report will not be presented till after election.

It is many years since the supporters and the opponents of the Interstate Commerce act began to align themselves for combat in reference to the policy and constitutionality of that law. It was not until Monday that a definite decision was reached in the court of last resort as to the meaning and binding force of the act. It may be said in brief that the principle sought to be enforced by Congress, that railroads should not be allowed to form pooling arrangements or to combine in other ways to prevent rates of transportation from falling below a certain figure, has been fully sustained, and that there is now nothing to be done except to cancel their agreements, so far as they exist on paper and involve fines and penalties, and either to depend upon moral suasion to accomplish the same end, or leave the law of competition to work itself out. One other course is possible. The railroads may go to Congress and ask that the anti-pooling clause of the law be repealed; but it is not likely that they would get a favorable hearing at present. It is idle to argue a case after it has been decided by the highest court before which it can come. The judges who have passed upon it, counting those in the lower courts as well as in the higher, have divided about equally, and the weight of authority is about the same on both sides, but the law is no longer open to dispute. All must obey it as it has been announced in Justice Peckham's opinion. What its effects may be in practice can be learned only by experience. If the railroads have learned the lesson which the Joint Traffic Association was formed to teach them, so that they can live up to the principles of the agreement after it has been cancelled, no harm will come to them from the decision. The Trans-Missouri Association was dissolved immediately after the decision was rendered in that case, but the railroads belonging to it have been able to live nevertheless.

Judge Lawrence of Ohio is, perhaps, the only person in the United States who considers the woollen industry of New England in a prosperous state. This appears to be his opinion from a letter written by him to the Charleston *News and Courier*, in which he advocates a tariff on raw cotton and a higher tariff on wool. We predicted, when the present duties on wool were enacted, that Lawrence would not be satisfied with them, but would soon be asking for more. We did not anticipate that he would try to form an alliance with the Southern Democrats for this purpose, but such seems to be his hope and expectation. He has an idea that it is the bounden duty of Congress to make wool-growing profitable in Ohio, and that this can be done by excluding foreign wools from the United States. The rights of the consumers of wool and of woollen goods are not mentioned in any writings of his that we have ever seen. It is not likely, however, that the Republicans in Congress will reopen the wool schedule, since that would be the signal for reopening the whole tariff question.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was supposed to be about the most peace-loving man in the Salisbury cabinet, but here he comes for the second time playing the rôle of *mouton enragé*. Last December he was put up to say that England would sooner go to war than see the open door in China shut in her face; and last week he was chosen to sound the tocsin against France. We say chosen, because he must have spoken as he did with the knowledge and approval of Lord Salisbury. The Premier seems to have thought it necessary to take notice in this way of all the military and naval bustle going on in France, and to give it roughly to be understood that the French must abandon all their pretensions on the Nile. But the thing was done with unnecessary violence. Sir Michael's closing words, in fact, read very like the final paragraph of Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message. It would be a great calamity to break off peaceful relations, but there are some things worse than war, etc. This is the "new diplomacy" with a vengeance. It is the over-emphasis of a plodding Chancellor of the Exchequer suddenly called upon to talk like a warrior.

The French dispatches bring negotiations some days later than those given in the English Blue Book of October 9. As the situation now stands, France is willing, if not too roughly pressed, to withdraw from Fashoda. But she will resent an ultimatum on that or any other aspect of the affair. What she asks for is a friendly delimitation of spheres of influence in such a way as to give her a trade outlet to the Nile from her Congo possessions. This Lord Salisbury has neither refused nor granted; he said he would have to consult his colleagues. Their answer will probably be given this week. It is hard to see how it can be other than amicable, unless France means by "trade outlet" occupation of the river and province of Bahr-el-Ghazal. This, it is certain, will never be assented to by the English Government. French traders may very well be allowed the right of transit through the Bahr-el-Ghazal, but possession of even a part of this old Sudanese province of the Khedive France cannot and probably does not expect.

Emperor William falls on the neck of the ruler whom Mr. Gladstone called the "Great Assassin," as if he had found a long-lost brother. In fact, the inspired Berlin papers praise the Sultan effusively, even speaking of him as a "great reformer, who in many respects resembles the Kaiser." This is going pretty far in the way of trade, and, we should think, would make even the German bankers and manufacturers look pretty hard at the piastres they may get out of Turkish concessions. If any money ever smelt of blood, that would.

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A CURIOUS CAMPAIGN.

The campaign for the election of the Fifty-sixth Congress, which will end a week from next Tuesday, is one of the most curious in our political history. The contest for control of the legislative branch which comes midway in the term of a President is apt to be a sharp one, upon issues which have been clearly defined by the action of the new Administration during its first year and a half. Such was notably the case in the election at the middle of President Harrison's term, when the nation rendered its verdict upon the passage of the McKinley law and the attempted passage of the Force bill. That these would be the issues of the campaign in the autumn of 1890 was perfectly clear to everybody by midsummer, and there was no change in this respect between the questions which confronted the voter in July and those of November. But this year nobody could tell in July what would be the questions up for decision in November. In midsummer we were at war with Spain. At that time the managing politicians of the Republican party hoped that the war would drag on long enough so that the Quays and Platts could insist upon support of their tickets by the people in order to "stand by the Government" while it was in conflict with a foreign Power. Unfortunately for this scheme, Spain got tired of the war sooner than was desired in the interest of Republican politics, and the signing of the protocol for a treaty of peace deprived the bosses of their most effective weapon. The result was, that, for a while after the middle of August, the campaign seemed to be without any issues. The supporting-the-war dodge could not be used, and the question of the proper policy for the Government to pursue in the settlement of the final terms of peace was not as yet well defined, nor was there anything like a division along party lines on the still shadowy outlines of this policy.

Nothing was left but the old free-coinage issue, and hardly anybody could be persuaded to take any interest again in the tiresome "16 to 1" question. About the 1st of September the Iowa Republicans adopted a platform which would have afforded an inspiring issue if the party generally had taken it up, by declaring that they not only believed in the gold standard, but also held that "the permanence of this standard must be assured by congressional legislation giving to it the value and vitality of public law." But, save in Connecticut, there was no response to this appeal—not even in the Republican platform adopted by Platt's convention in the State which is the strongest believer in sound finance of all in the Union; and so the attempt to raise a worthy issue on the national finances failed.

As the weeks passed, a new issue growing out of the war, which nobody had expected, gradually shaped itself. It became clear that there had been terrible suffering, a vast amount of disease, and a great number of deaths and of life-long wrecks of men who survived illness among the soldiers, not only in Cuba, but also in the camps to which the troops returned from Cuba, as well as in the camps of volunteers who never left the United States; and that a large proportion of this suffering, disease, and death had been due to the mismanagement of the War Department under Secretary Alger—a man whose record, both in the civil war and in the thirty years that followed, had been so bad that his appointment to the place by President McKinley, even in time of peace, was a disgrace. Popular indignation rose against Algerism, and there was a strong demand for the removal of a Secretary who was clearly incapable of administering the department effectively under conditions which would require the maintenance for an indefinite period of an army of at least 100,000 men, a large proportion of whom must serve in tropical countries and many thousands of them on the other side of the globe.

During the past month, and particularly during the last fortnight, another and larger issue growing out of the war has come to take pretty definite shape, and has supplanted Algerism. Porto Rico is already a part of the United States, but the question of what shall be done with the Philippines is not yet settled. The Administration itself has not formally and officially declared its position, but the series of speeches which President McKinley and members of his cabinet have delivered on their Western trip virtually commit the Executive to the policy of demanding control of the whole archipelago, while there has been a steady tendency on the part of Republicans, particularly in the West, to make this policy an article of party faith—Senator Mason of Illinois having recently been constrained to change from an opponent to an advocate of expansion. A well-informed correspondent of the Chicago *Record*, who accompanied the Presidential party on their trip, thus sums up the drift of things:

> "You will notice that the Administration as represented upon the train is strongly imbued with imperialism. The President has come mighty near saying something several times, and the cabinet members in their speeches have not attempted to conceal their views on the subject of expansion. The attitude of the Administration in this, the most important issue before the American people, need be considered a mystery no longer. After the Peace Commissioners return from Paris, the horizon will be moved westward several thousand miles."

It has thus turned out that a campaign which two months ago seemed devoid of national issues is ending with one of the greatest questions ever raised in our history at the front. There is nothing like a sharp division along party lines. Many Republicans in the East, particularly in New England, oppose expansion, and many others evade declaring themselves; while some Democrats believe in imperialism, and but few candidates of that party are making an earnest campaign against it. Nevertheless, the attitude of the Administration, and the readiness of the dominant forces among the Republicans to sustain its position, practically commit the party to such an extent that a sweeping Republican victory in the congressional elections will be interpreted, by President McKinley and everybody else, as an endorsement of the expansion policy to the fullest extent; while the success of the opposition will be regarded as indicating distrust of this policy by the people, and doubt as to the ratification by the Senate of any treaty which will make the Philippine Islands a part of the United States.

The suddenness with which the scene shifts in American politics has become proverbial. It is doubtful, however, whether in the history of the nation a great issue has been so suddenly and unexpectedly developed as this overshadowing question of the policy of our Government regarding "empire" in the Far East.

"DESTINY" AND "DUTY."

Mr. McKinley, in his great speech at Chicago, boldly affirmed that "the currents of destiny flow through the hearts of our people." This we believe to be a profound truth. The hearts of men are really the only place where they do flow. We mean "destiny" in Mr. McKinley's sense. It is the Canton mode of describing what the citizen has in mind to do. It is, in fact, another name for "his little game," whether it be forgery, or burglary, or the holding up of a train, or a speculation in wheat. It is all "destiny." It thus makes it very sweet to him to think that, no matter what he is after, it has been planned for him by Divine Providence.

As McKinley is well informed about Destiny, however, we make bold to ask him what is the destiny of the negro race in this country, and more particularly of the negroes held in St. Louis for seeking labor in Illinois? We have the less hesitation in asking this question because their destiny seems so strange. In fact, it seems as if Providence had begun in the case of these negroes to serve out a new kind of destiny. The destiny advertised by the recognized God of America heretofore has always promised that, when a man sought labor and labored, his destiny would be competence, honor, and respectability. The old fellows who framed the Constitution promised, without hesitation, that paid labor should always be the destiny of free negroes, if they would take it. But their destiny now in Illinois seems to be death if they seek it away from home. Which is the right destiny, to be shot or to get work? Let us also ask, very respectfully, what is Mr. McKinley's des-

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tiny with regard to them? We know what his destiny is with regard to the Cubans and Tagals, for he himself has told us, but what has the Lord intended or planned for him with regard to the negroes of the South? Are they citizens, or are they not? If they are citizens, what is his destiny towards them? Should a man who is in secret communion with the Almighty allow American citizens to be driven out of an American State by armed force for seeking work? Not the franchise, mind you, or equality, or entrance to theatres, hotels, or churches, but simply work. Is this really their destiny? If it be, we fear the task of the home missionaries is hopeless. They will never get colored Americans to worship a God who serves out such poor destiny as that.

We must also warn this inspired man that thousands of people are asking to-day whether this is the kind of destiny the Spaniards gave the Cubans. Is this the kind of destiny from which our fleets and armies delivered them by "a war of humanity"? Have there been any cases in which Cubans were shot for seeking labor away from their homes? If there have, why have they not been mentioned? Did that villain Weyler do anything of the kind to the "reconcentrados"? If he did, we have been far too mild with him, and ought to have fought harder and stormed more batteries. But doubtless our President has arranged with the Almighty that American atrocities shall not count as heavily as Spanish atrocities. We feel sure of this because Mr. McKinley knows the Lord so well that he would be down on Tanner in an instant if it were certain that American savagery would be judged as severely in the courts of heaven as Spanish savagery. Depend upon it, he has got a "straight tip" about savagery.

The President indulged in more moral philosophy on his recent trip than any of his predecessors had ever done. He, in fact, said a great many interesting things which will repay examination by the students of morals. One is that "Duty determines Destiny." This sounds well, but who determines Duty? Who, for instance, determined the appointment of Saylor as Consul to Matanzas just before the war? Saylor, a henchman of Quay, was convicted of a very gross attempt to swindle the State of Pennsylvania, and, on hearing of the prospect of his appointment, a delegation of the leading merchants of Philadelphia laid the facts of the case before the President. Saylor was appointed, nevertheless. It is plain enough that it was his "Destiny" to be appointed; but was it really "Duty" that determined the Destiny? If so, how came Duty to play Destiny such a dirty trick? It appears from this case as if Duty had escaped from the custody of Divine Providence, and is now being worked by the Adversary under the name of Matt Quay.

It would be interesting to know, also, whether it was really Duty which made Destiny go to war with Spain, after Spain had yielded everything we demanded. This was so extraordinary, so opposed to all rules, both of individual and international morality, that we cannot help thinking somebody besides Duty has got at Destiny and started her on a buccaneering expedition. How was that? In whose head is Duty kept? It is evident that Duty is not kept in careful custody, and that she frequently gets into very bad company. We advise such an austere philosopher as Mr. McKinley to keep a closer watch on her, or she will lead him into scrapes. There are already a good many things in his career which make him and his advisers seem a little queer as "stern daughters of the voice of God." Did Destiny, for example, really act under the direction of Duty when she made Alger Secretary of War? Was it really Duty which made Destiny give James G. Blaine, jr., a commission in the army, or was it somebody else of an entirely different family? There were during the war commissions given to many other young men, some without character, all without skill or experience, to lead men to their death—was it Duty which got Destiny into such an immoral mess as that, and really made her guilty of homicide? We can hardly believe it. Whoever it was that made these little things seem patriotic and moral and just to as stern a philosopher as Mr. McKinley is, has a great deal to answer for, and must have resorted to very gross arts of deception; for he is plainly a good man, who is all the time painfully groping for the light, and eager for the society of the wise and true.

Quay is said to have insisted on the philosopher's writing a letter to help him in his contest with Swallow in Pennsylvania, and a good many "bad Americans" say, cynically, that he will do it. Will he? And if he does, will it be Duty or somebody else who will "determine Destiny" in the matter? It seems to us hardly possible that Duty should bid Destiny oppose a man like Swallow on such an occasion. Can it be possible, let us ask, that Duty is an affair of locality, that she extends her jurisdiction only over certain places and not over others? Is it possible that she reigns in the Philippines, and not in the State of Illinois? Or that she arranges her obligations so that they will not bear on the Republican party, or any other? It seems as if it must be so, for how shall we otherwise account for the fact that Mr. McKinley lectured on moral philosophy during the past week in Chicago, in a State where the Governor is in armed revolt against the Constitution and laws of the United States, without mentioning him?

There is only one way of accounting for this strange circumstance, and that is that he has made an arrangement with both Duty and Destiny that neither of them shall interfere in any way with affairs in America, and both shall suspend the ordinary moral and constitutional obligations until after the election. The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious. It is clear to the most rampant expansionist that it is unreasonable to expect any people to be moral in two hemispheres at one and the same time. Duty and Destiny have plainly both agreed to order, for this once, whatever the American people want on this continent, and to enforce their decrees in the conquered Spanish territory only. That is what Mr. McKinley means by his moral lectures. The Spaniards have got to be moral everywhere. Duty refuses, and very properly, to "let up" on them. If they do not like it, why, let us ask, do they stay Catholics?

STATE AND NATIONAL ISSUES.

Col. Roosevelt and his party managers must have discovered, during the past few days, that, whatever may be their personal opinions as to whether State or national issues are "paramount" in this campaign, there can be no doubt as to the disposition of the people of the State. So long as the Republican canvass was prosecuted with national issues to the front, it encountered such "apathy" everywhere that, instead of improving, the Colonel's chances of election steadily diminished. This was so markedly the case ten days ago that hope of his success had nearly or quite vanished. Since then there has appeared a genuine local issue, a thoroughly "parochial" one, that of an honest and untrammelled judiciary, and the immediate result is a visible improvement in Roosevelt's prospects. Indeed, it is the opinion of all competent observers that if he is elected, he will owe his success to Croker's fatuous conduct in providing him with a local issue of incalculable value.

Nothing shows the influence of this new issue more clearly than the sudden increase in the registration on the final day, Saturday. This was a great surprise to everybody, revealing for the first time a real popular interest in the election. Col. Roosevelt's appeals for support in order to impress the nations of Continental Europe and teach them to treat us with proper respect, his assertion that the peace negotiations at Paris were blocked because of uncertainty as to what the voters of New York would say next month, even his charge that any man who voted against him would be a "Spaniard" and a traitor—each and all of these appeals, based upon the assumption that the national issues of the war and its results were "paramount," failed to arouse the people, to shake them out of their apathy. So also with the sound-money issue. So long as that

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and the war were at the front, "apathy" continued unshaken. But when a real issue appeared, one upon which the people could vote directly, apathy received its first distinct shock. The remarkable meeting of the lawyers at Carnegie Hall, with Mr. Bourke Cockran's stirring speech, showed what vitality there was in a real issue, and what political potency.

It may be well to say a word further upon this subject. There has been much use made, by the "national-issue" advocates, of the Oregon election last spring, the point being that because sound money was the leading issue there, that because on that issue the Republicans carried the State, and the result was hailed all over the country as of national importance, we should in New York State, under like conditions, make national issues, including sound money, paramount in our canvass. There are many defects in this line of reasoning. In the first place, there is no similarity whatever between the political conditions in the State of Oregon and those in the State of New York. Oregon, at the time of its election, had no boss system of government, no canal mismanagement, or any other local issue of sufficient prominence to prevent the pushing to the front of the sound-money issue. The Republicans of Oregon did not raise this issue as a cloak for the preservation of the blackmailing system of a corrupt boss, enabling him under its cover to send unfit men to the Legislature and to allow no really fit men to be sent there. Democratic, constitutional government still exists in Oregon. The nominating machinery there is still under the control of the people, and is not in the hands of a boss or of two bosses. Under these conditions, the sound-money issue could be raised with entire propriety, and, instead of obscuring local or State issues, it might distinctly reinforce them by supplying an additional certificate of character in the nominees. The same thing is true of the situation in Iowa now.

Furthermore, the Oregon election was held in the midst of our "great war," as Col. Roosevelt is fond of calling it. There was no expansion, or Empire, or Destiny, or other results of the war, or Peace Conference, to be voted upon then. If there had been such national issues as those, and they had been put in front of the sound-money issue, as Col. Roosevelt has put them here, the result might have been very different. It is because he has, until now, pushed sound money into a secondary place, thrusting to the front what Mr. Schurz aptly calls "militant imperialism" and the "Manifest Destiny swindle," that we have censured his conduct as both indefensible and impolitic. He was obscuring the real issue, honest State government, was protecting the boss in the latter's efforts to perpetuate his power, and was making even sound money a secondary issue.

Why should there be any difficulty about advocating both sound money and honest State government at the same time? Cannot a man vote for sound-money candidates in his congressional district, and keep his mind upon State issues in regard to other candiates? Ah, but you forget that a United States Senator is to be chosen by the new Legislature! Yes, but are we to forget that a thick-and-thin Platt Legislature, with a blackmailing system based upon it, is a high price to pay for a United States Senator? What especial harm, taken at its worst, can a Democratic Congress do in regard to the money question? They can pass no free-silver legislation over the President's veto. Then, too, what assurance have we that a new Republican Congress would give us any more currency reform than the old one has done? Is that assurance so strong as to justify us in surrendering our Legislature to Platt for a year or two longer?

Putting aside all other arguments in favor of local issues as preferable to national issues, that of expediency would, we should suppose, be supreme with all Republicans. It has been plain from the outset, and has been made so clear by the developments of the past few days as to be beyond question, that Col. Roosevelt's only chance of election lies in State and local issues. If he had stood fearlessly and mainly upon those, if he had left the "results of the war" and the attitude of the nations of Continental Europe out of the case utterly, he would not have alienated a large body of independent voters, and would virtually be certain of election to-day. He has a chance of election now, but only because the sudden precipitation by his opponents of a local issue of overwhelming moment has compelled him to put his national issues into the background.

TOLSTOY ON ART.—II.

PARIS, October 5, 1898.

Tolstoy justly remarks that whereas it used to be considered a merit to be clear, it is by our new schools of literature considered a merit to be obscure. He speaks of Stéphane Mallarmé as a model of this conscious and voluntary obscurity. Mallarmé, who died only a few weeks ago, was for a long time professor of English at the Lycée Fontanes. He was a quiet, mystical man, sufficiently intelligible in ordinary life; but when he took pen in hand he did not forget that he belonged to what Leconte de Lisle called the School of the Unintelligible. He held to the principle that the poet ought not to express, but only to suggest, ideas. He had, alas! disciples, and some of them thought it necessary to go into mild convulsions over some of his works, his sonnet on the Rose, his epitaph on Edgar Poe, etc. It is said that he had for a long time been working on a sonnet which nobody had seen, but the appearance of which was to be a great event. A chosen disciple was at last admitted to the honor of hearing it; he heard piously the fourteen lines and began to compliment the poet. Mallarmé interrupted him. "So," said he, "you have well understood?" "Oh, yes!" "And what is, in your opinion, the subject of the poem?" "Nothing could be more clear: it is the synthesis of the absolute." And Mallarmé with the greatest calmness said to him: "No, my friend, it is the description of my commode."

The new poets, Décadents or Symbolists, have abolished all the rules of French prosody, so that some of their poems read almost like prose. They do not recognize any "ars poetica"; they take the greatest liberty with the rhyme; they will not tolerate any measure, any rhythm.

The criticism which Tolstoy makes of the new school of poetry applies with as much force to the new school of music. His chapters on Wagner and on the Wagnerian school have been considered almost blasphemy by the admirers of the great German musician. Nobody had dared to speak so boldly on the subject. Wagnerism has become in our day a sort of religion. I remember the time when "Lohengrin" was played for the first time at the French Opera. It was under the Second Empire, and the spirit of opposition, which was very ardent at the time, rose against a work which was said to be patronized by the Court. In vain did Madame de Metternich applaud furiously in her box; the public was hostile, and Wagner was not understood, he was even not properly heard. How different it is now! The French have forgotten that Wagner was a German; he has been adopted, and his operas are played, one after another, before enthusiastic audiences. The old operas, even those of Meyerbeer, of Rossini, of Donizetti, are looked upon as forms of an inferior art. People speak disdainfully of the duos, trios, quintets, and sextets of the elder school; they require a sort of formless music. I am not at all prepared to deny the great symphonic power of the Wagnerian music, but it seems to me that the best parts of his work are those in which he condescends to give a definite form, a definite rhythm to his musical ideas. He attains at times the height of sublimity, but how dearly you have to pay for these chosen parts, in hearing the endless *recitativi* which connect them (for, if you will admit an Italian word into this Germanism, it must be confessed that the greater part of some of Wagner's operas is an endless and noisy *recitativo*). The Italians were the first to unite the airs of an opera by a recitative, but they paid no attention to what was for them a mere *trait d'union*. People became attentive only when the air commenced, and they ceased to be when it was finished. I confess that there is a symphonic greatness and majesty in the Wagnerian ideal; but what I call the airs, for want of a better word—that is to say, the definite forms of harmony—are often too completely sacrificed to undefined, vague symphonic accumulations of sounds, which have no beginning and no end, like the murmur of the wind or of an angry sea.

Another objection may be made to the Wagnerian music, and it is expressed with much force by Tolstoy. The fundamental thought of Wagner has been the identification of music with poetry. The great master intends and professes to express with sounds all the shades and variations of a poetical work.

"But," says Tolstoy, "each art has its proper and defined domain, distinct from that

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of the other arts; united for a time in a single work, as they are in an opera, one of them must necessarily be sacrificed to the other. The union of the drama and of music, invented in the tenth century by Italians who imagined that they were resuscitating the ancient Greek drama, has never achieved success except with the upper classes, and only when a musician of talent—Mozart, Weber, Rossini—inspired by a dramatic subject, abandoned himself freely to his inspiration and subordinated the text to the music. In the operas of these masters, the only important thing for the auditor was the music written to a certain text, and not the text itself. This text might even be absurd, as happens, for instance, in Mozart's 'Magic Flute,' without hindering the music from producing an artistic impression."

In truth, the situations may have their importance in an opera; the words have really none. There are more or less dramatic *libretti*, and it cannot be denied that a good libretto helps the musician; but much pleasure can be derived from a stupid libretto if the music is good, since we derive the greatest pleasure from a symphony of Beethoven, which has not the help of words, nor even of the human voice.

Since Wagner was a poet as well as a musician, it is necessary to read his work as well as to hear it.

"The principal part," says Tolstoy, "of his poetical works is the 'Ring of the Nibelung.' I have read with much care the four *libretti* which compose the poem. . . . It is a model of artistic counterfeit. But they say that it is impossible to judge Wagner's productions if you do not see them on the stage. The second day of the trilogy was represented at Moscow last winter. It is, I was assured, the best part of the work. So I went to see it played; and this is what I saw. When I arrived, the enormous hall was full. There were grand-dukes and all the flower of the aristocracy, of commerce, of science, of administration, of the middle classes. Most of the spectators had a libretto in their hands, trying to penetrate the sense of it. I saw also many musicians, some of them old, with gray hair, who followed the music with the score."

The account which Tolstoy gives of the representation and of the fable on which Wagner composed his music, is highly comical. He describes his sufferings during the performance:

"I thought involuntarily of a 'wise,' respectable peasant, one of those truly religious men such as I know among our peasants. I represented to myself the terrible perplexity which he would feel if he was forced to see what I had seen. What would he think on learning the amount of labor expended on the performance, and on seeing this audience, these great ones of the earth —old, bald, gray-bearded men, men whom he is in the habit of respecting—sitting motionless, to see and to hear for six hours in succession such a mass of absurdities."

And then, thinking of Bayreuth, where congregate every year people who think themselves the élite of the world, he speculated on the causes of Wagner's success. He analyzes his method, his clever use of all the elements furnished by what he calls the poetical arsenal, but on the whole he calls the new art a mere counterfeit.

He constantly uses this word counterfeit. The conclusion of his work is, in fact, that

"What the greater part of our society considers art, real art, art *in toto*, is a mere counterfeit of true art. . . . If art is a form of activity through which one man transmits his feelings to others, we are obliged to confess that of all we call art in our society, of all these novels, stories, dramas, pictures, operas, ballets, etc., hardly the hundred-thousandth part proceeds from an emotion felt by the author; all the rest is a mere counterfeit, in which borrowed ideas, ornamentations, effects, and interests replace the contagion of sentiment. I have read somewhere that in Paris alone there are more than twenty thousand painters; there are probably as many in England, as many in Germany, as many in the other countries of Europe. That makes about one hundred thousand painters in Europe; and we should find there also a hundred thousand musicians, and a hundred thousand literary men. If these three hundred thousand individuals produce each three works a year, we can reckon nearly a million works of art a year."

Emotional contagion seems to Tolstoy to be the criterion of true art. "If a man, without any effort on his part, receives, in the presence of the work of another man, an emotion which unites him to this man, and if others receive it as he does, it is because the work which he has before him is a work of art." I give this definition for what it is worth, and cannot follow Tolstoy any further in his attempt to renovate art, in his analysis of the "art of the future." It is enough to say that, paradoxical as it is in many parts, his book is worth reading, and is full of bold truths and of ingenious and suggestive considerations.

Correspondence.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE PHILIPPINES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Will you pardon an old reader and ardent admirer if he asks you categorically what you would do about the Philippines, assuming that we have got them to dispose of? I believe I have a pretty distinct idea of what you would *not* do, but I should like some light on the following points:

Ought our national conscience to be satisfied with washing our hands of the whole affair and saying we care for none of these things?

At the end of, say, a hundred years would the Filipino, in your opinion, have made further progress on the road to civilization, if left to his own devices, than if we exercised some sort of protectorate over him?

It being manifestly impossible to put the Filipino back *in statu quo erat ante bellum*, what ought we to do in the premises, due regard being had for him, ourselves, and the rest of the world? E. L. M.

Chicago, October 18, 1898.

[We have already expressed our opinion that the first thing to do is to resolve that we will not undertake to govern the Filipinos for our own benefit, or to make their country United States territory. This is what we are pretending to do in the case of Cuba, with far greater temptations to break our plighted word. How to get out of our present military and naval responsibility for good order within the range of our guns, is the problem of the Administration, which has deliberately sought to forestall the popular judgment upon annexation. We do not know why the Filipinos have not the right to try to govern themselves as well as any other people. If they fail, we consider it no concern of ours, any more than to accelerate their progress towards civilization and self-government. Our national conscience, if it exists any longer, can be satisfied by standing by the doctrine of the fathers as to the rights of man.—Ed. Nation.]

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORSHIP.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Apropos of the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor of this State, I wonder if the Mugwumps—those of us who are going to vote, in the main, the Republican ticket—realize that here is a notable chance to put in operation a cardinal Mugwump maxim, viz., always to vote against a bad man of the better party, even at the terrible present cost of voting for and perhaps electing a worse man of the worse party.

There is more hope of reforming (by disciplining) the better party, the party of larger and more general intelligence and of higher moral average, and of bringing it to its senses, than the other party, and when you have done that, the race is won; whereas, by voting for the less bad man of the better party, you simply win a momentary, partial relief, while you exacerbate the disease and postpone a *radical* cure.

As long as we tolerate the doctrine, "You must vote for *our* man, bad though he be, because the other man is *worse*," we never shall have political reform; for one party has then only to encourage the nomination of a very bad man by the other party to enable it to put up a little less bad man itself. Bad as the election of a worse man would be, it would in the end be overbalanced for good by the lesson in higher politics, that you cannot defy the moral element of your party in your nomination, and then elect your bad man by saying the other man is worse. Not till the leaders are taught that their party will *not* under *any* pressure vote for their *own* bad man, will those leaders be driven to put up good men.

Respectfully yours, (a Mugwump of the Mugwumps), H. D. C.

Gouverneur, N. Y., October 22, 1898.

BRITISH SYMPATHY WITH THE CONFEDERACY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent Mr. A. W. Savary, in citing Mr. Sumner's inflammatory language as a main cause of England's hostility to the North during the civil war, rather puts the cart before the horse. Mr. Justin McCarthy, in his 'History of Our Own Times,' states the matter very fairly. He says:

"Mr. Sumner had been for the greater part of his life an enthusiastic admirer of England. . . . In his own country he passed for an Anglomaniac. When the civil war broke out, he expected, with full confidence, to find the sympathies of England freely given to the side of the North. He was struck with amazement when he found that they were to so great an extent given to the South. But when he saw that the *Alabama* and other Southern cruisers had been built in England, manned in England, and allowed to leave our ports with apparently the applause of three-fourths of the representative men in England, his feelings towards this country underwent a complete change. . . . His mind became filled with a fervor of anger against England. All his love for England turned into hate."

Then came the inflammatory language—which doubtless intensified England's unfriendliness to the North, but certainly did not antedate it. As with Mr. Sumner, so with the people of the North in general.

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When they found, to their bitter disappointment, nine-tenths of English "society," of English journalists, statesmen, clergymen—everybody, in short, who had weight and a voice—taunting them in their distress and giving support to their foes, then their chagrin deepened into anger which soon found expression in the public approval of the *Trent* outrage.

England has now handsomely and substantially made amends for her unhandsome treatment of us in Sumner's day; and perhaps it would be better, now that the "era of good feeling" has really set in, to steer clear of discussions and recriminations that tend to disturb it. Having said which, the present writer is driven to the schoolboy's plea, that Mr. Savary (like England in 1861) "started it." E. G. J.

October 23, 1898.

WISCONSIN'S VOTES ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of October 6 you mention the fact that "the proposition to extend the right of suffrage in Wisconsin to negroes was defeated by a few thousand majority" in the referendum vote of 1865. It is a curious circumstance that, in an earlier referendum, in 1849, the number of votes cast in favor of the constitutional amendment for such extension was 5,265, and the number against it 4,075.

The vote appears to have been very light, and to have been regarded as not worthy of consideration, in view of the constitutional provision that such amendment must be "approved by a majority of all the votes cast at such election," in order to be effective. So no action was taken to test the validity of the amendment until it had again been submitted and this time (in 1865) defeated. In the case of Gillespie vs. Palmer *et al.*, reported in 20 Wis., page 572, it was held by the highest appellate court of the State that the vote was sufficient to confer the right of suffrage upon citizens of African descent, although a lower court had decided that it was not, alleging the constitutional provision. Theron W. Haight.

Waukesha, Wis., October 11, 1898.

PROVINCIAL RIMES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Certain critics of the technic of verse find an easy explanation of many of the imperfect rimes of our language by a reference to the pronunciation of the English aristocracy, forgetting, first, that such licenses are not simply patrician property; and, secondly, that they are as common on the banks of the Charles as of the Thames. How regard the suppressed *g* as a shibboleth of high life when it appears so often in the rimes of the cockneys, or the coupling of *been* and *seen*, or of *were* and *there* as evidence of English swelldom when we Yankees have always mated the two sounds?

Rimes, indeed, are seldom clues to a writer's pronunciation. As a correspondent has recently asserted in your columns, the poet may employ freely rimes to the eye like *leads* and *treads*, *love* and *move*, *key* and *they*. He may continue a riming tradition in coupling such words as *heaven* and *riven*, *sun* and *on*, *rebuke* and *look*, *faith* and *death*. He may consciously assist at a misalliance in wedding sounds of different classes, like *brows* and *close*, *lost* and *boast*, *foot* and *brute*, *guard* and *lord*. When, having noted that none of these three conditions exists, we can explain an author's imperfect rimes by pointing to the speech of his section, then, and then only, are we safe in attaching much importance to the evidence of line-endings.

When Morton of Merrymount sings (Duyckinck, *Cycl. of Am. Lit.*, ii., 35),

> "Give to the melancholy man
> A cup or two of 't now and than,"

we are pretty sure of the pronunciation of his time. When Mrs. Carlyle, in her "Lines to a Swallow," rimes *one* and *man*, we remember that she was a Scotchwoman. When R. H. Horne couples *lost* and *mast* ("Genius," Stedman's *Victorian Anthology*, 35) Wilfred Blunt, *calm* and *storm* (*Id.*, 492), and Kipling, *hard* and *Adam-zad* ("The Truce of the Bear"), we cry at once, "Here is the broad *a* of the English gentleman"; but we are a little surprised a few days later to meet, in our Whittier, *soft* mated with *quaffed* (*Cambridge Ed.*, 155, 1), *staff* with *scarf* (343, 1), and *arms* with *palms* (420, 2).

If rimes were always an index to pronunciation, we should have no difficulty in proving that the greatest of England's poets spoke like footmen (note the appalling list of false rimes in Tennyson and Moore, cited by Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, 858), that the masters of American song conversed in the dialect of Hosea Biglow. Let us take, for example, the line endings of Whittier; I have recently collected all the imperfect rimes in the Cambridge Edition of his works (a task that I found by no means dull). On the evidence of these—evidence which no one will rate at any but its proper value—the Quaker poet is not to be criticised for what he sadly calls "the harshness of an untaught ear," but to be applauded for his patriotic employment of New England provincialisms. In citing his more interesting rimes, I shall try to avoid the use of technical phonetic terms.

I. A-rimes.

(1.) ā with ĕ: Chamber, remember (245-1); range, revenge (326-1); revenge, estrange (334-2); change, revenge (502-1, 503-1); betrayed, head (245-1); grenade, head (74-1). *Chember*, *renge*, *estrenge*, and *haid* are very common provincialisms.

(2.) ă with ĕ: Example, temple (200-1, 430-1); pennon, cannon (285-1, 334-1); chance, providence (341-1); bellow, fallow (362-2); help, scalp (498-2); offence, petulance (501-1); tenor, manner (511-1); catch, fetch (229-2); shadows, meadows (197-1, 224-2, 362-2); meadows, ladders (52-1); hath, death (365-2, 438-2); breath, path (400-1, 421-1, 445-2); better, platter (390-2). Compare with these rimes the vocabulary of the Biglow Papers: *hev*, *thet*, *hendy*, *Shennon*, *fem'ly*, *pel'ces*, *dem-miges*, *shell* (shall), *rerity*, *kerridge*, *ketch*, *betch*, *getherin'*, *kebbage*, *metter*, *hep-pen*.

(3.) aa=au=ar=or: Charms, psalms, (67-2); water, escort her (31-1); form, warm (77-2); gone, warn (183-1); calm, arm (488-1, 496-1); sparrow, borrow (410-1); abroad, lord (115-2); gone, forlorn (144-2); sort, caught (258-1); scorning, fawning (304-1); abroad, God (315-2); applaud, reward (347-1); scorner, honor (358-1); cause, was (430-2); worn, gone (501-2).

(4.) ā accented=a unaccented: Lay, Florida (7-2); day, Bashaba (29-2); play, Piscataqua (74-1, 402-1); way, Andromeda (236-1). This stress of the obscure final syllable is, of course a Yankeeism, but the same rime occurs in 'Hudibras': Day, algebra (i., 1, 126-127); terra incognita, say (i., 1, 535-536).

II. E-rimes.

(1.) ee with ĕ: Been, then (40-2); pen, been (391-2, 48-2); been, men (247-1, 288-1, 430-2, 352-1, 390-1, 487-2, 508-2, 511-2); been, when, pen (392-2). *Ben* for *been*, is the form in the 'Biglow Papers,' and Lowell, in the introduction to Part II., notes as a parallel Whittier's use. The English pronunciation of *been*, so rare in American mouths, is found frequently in our rimes; Whittier himself employed it twice: green, been (489-2); been, seen (511-1).

(2.) er=ar=ir=ur: (a) er with ar: Searches, larches (164-2) [compare, however, searches, birches (167-2)]; harvest, servest (182-1); pearl, marl (440-1). The 'Biglow Papers' yield to a rapid hunt: *desarves*, *consarns*, *larn*, *univarse*, *vartoo*, *presarvin'*, *sartin'*, *starns*, *vice-varsy*, (b) er with or: Whittier's favorite rime instances a pronunciation that I have heard a hundred times in the Green Mountains: earth, forth (furth) (141-1, 156-1, 176-1, 272-2, 279-2, 280-2, 284-1, 332-2, 341-2, 347-2, 372-1, 379-2, 381-1, 418-2, 488-1, 492-2). Compare, also, force, universe (79-2, 248-1); sword, bird (339-1); church, perch (246-2, 503-2); turn, borne (309-2); court, dirt (328-2).

(3.) eu=ew=ū=oo: Wood, quietude (147-1); gratitude, good (204-1); womanhood, platitude (204-1); rebuke, brook (206-2); renewed, wood (207-1); mule, foot (400-1); croon, tune (192-1). Emerson also employs these rimes freely; but, as they abound in Stedman's *Victorian Anthology*, we cannot regard them as indicating the characteristic Down-East sound in *dooty*, *institootions*, etc. The interesting *dew*, *do* (102-2) is not, of course, an "identical rime" as it would be in the 'Biglow Papers.'

III. I-rimes.

(1.) ĭ with ĕ: Since, hence (60-1); checkered, flickered (86-1); still, shell (182-2); tiller's, Cinderella's (358-2); spectre, picture (410-2); knelt, guilt (502-2). *Ef*, *sence*, *henders*, *hetch*, etc., are genuine Jaalam.

(2.) ĭ=ē, ea, ee, ie: Lives, weaves (166-1); Eva, give her (218-1); Eva, river (218-1); leaves, gives (235-1, 432-2, 501-1, 512-1); filled, yield (347-1); east, mist (361-1); ill, steel (298-1); gives, receives (432-2, 440-2); within, seen (387-1); beeches, witches (391-1); is, sees (461-2); spirit, hear it (293-1). *Geeves* (gives), *eel* (ill), *eez* (is), *een* (in), *speerit* are common to New England and Scotland; indeed, when Whittier attempted the Scotch dialect, he rimed *shillin'* and *stealin'* (490-2).

IV. O-rimes.

(1.) ŏ with ou, au [see above under aa]: Not, wrought (5-1); not, taught (91-1); thought, not (442, 1); not, sought (105-2); balk it, pocket (310-1); shot, thought (201-2). These sounds are confused not only near Whittier's home, but by careless speakers everywhere.

(2.) ŏ with ŭ: Wrongs, tongues (515-2); throngs, tongues (366-2). These are merely eye-rimes, and show nothing; let us hope, however, that, in the hymnody, "listening throngs" will soon cease to hear "the music of the heavenly tongues" (*tongs*).

(3.) ō with oo: Home, bloom (76-2, 112-1, 220-2, 225-1); come, perfume (104-2); home, room (130-2, 241-1, 402-1); come, room (239-1, 319-2, 446-1, 447-2); bloom, come (227-2, 342-1, 406-2, 441-1, 495-1); whom, Rome

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(380-1); loves, grooves (361-2). Some of these rimes appear in Emerson; but *coom, looves, Room*, etc., are not Yankee but Yorkshire, and the property of Mr. John Browdie.

(4.) ō with ŭ: Dumb, home (314-1), and income, home (402-2) suggest the bucolic *hum* (M. E. Wilkins, *A Humble Romance*, ed. 1887, p. 53); and full, whole (443-2) recalls Dr. Holmes's line, "All are but parts of one stupendous *Hull*."

(5.) oi with ī: Joined, behind (78-2); line, join (152-1); joined, mind (326-1); joins, pines (329-1); isle, soil (178-1); toil, isle (422-2); toil, smile (493-2). *Pints, 'nint, pizon, jint, j'y* (joy), "spiced with a drawl *ad-libitum*," are a large part of Hosea's stock in trade, but J. S. Blackie, the Scotchman, rimes *toil* and *while* in his *Songs of Religion and Life*, N. Y., 1876, p. 114. Whittier, however, may be simply attempting to revive a rime that was popular in the days of Pope, and was lost to standard English verse late in the last century.

V. U-rimes.

(1.) ŭ with ur, er, ir: Dust, thirst (123-2); dust, cursed (185-2); thrust, first (265-1); us, curse (268-1); first, dust (280-2); thus, curse (368-1); trust, nursed, first (389-2); curse, us (422-1); accursed, dust (504-2); accursed, lust (504-2). Let us glance at the lines (268-1):

"And shall we scoff at Europe's kings
When Freedom's fire is dim with-*us*,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of Slavery's *curse* (*cuss*)!"

Cust and *trust* are rimes in the 'Biglow Papers'; and *pus* (purse), *wus, cus, fust, nuss-in', wuth* occur frequently both here and in Miss Wilkins's stories. But the vulgarism is cockney as well. Thackeray couples *nuss* (nurse) and *us* ("Lines on a Late Hospicious Ewent"), and *cust* and *must* ("Jacob Hom-nium's Hoss"); and writes thus to his little daughter, Anne, under date of December 30, 1845 (*Biographical Edition*, vi., xxii.): "How glad I am that it is a black *puss* and not a black *nuss* you have got! [the italics are Thackeray's]. I thought you did not know how to spell nurse and had spelt it en-you-double-ess."

(2.) ure unaccented = er unaccented: Master, pasture (230-1); figure, nigger (298-2, 299-1); figure, eager (312-1); pasture, faster (363-1); pictures, spectres (410-2); venture, enter (411-1); cleanser, censure (516-1). Compare with these the rimes of the 'Biglow Papers': *feetur, creetur, meeter* (metre); *nater, traitor; figger, nigger*. I find, however, in the 'Ingoldsby Legends' feature, greet her, creature, eat her; and lecture, expect her; and even in Blackie's serious verse (*l. c.*, 85), nature, creator.

VI. False rimes.

Whittier, however, employs many rimes which fall into none of the above categories, and which cannot be made "perfect" by assigning to the words a provincial pronunciation. Of these I mention the most striking: Wrath, earth (170-1); nourished, cherished (200-2); places, daisies (200-1); Genevan, heaven (230-2); serf, off (285-1); South, both (291-2); rope, up (291-2); freedom, speed them = speed 'em (293-1); battalions, millions (293-1); summon, human (303-2); cotton, fortune (310-2) [compare 'Biglow Papers,' *fortin*]; part us, martyrs (336-2); bruised, crusade (336-2); better, sweeter (360-1); solemn, volume (360-1); murmurs, farmers (360-2); treasures, maize-ears (360-2); woody, sturdy (361-1); warmer, firmer (361-1); moonlight, sunlight (360-1) [the seven preceding rimes are, strange to say, all in one poem, "The Lumbermen"]; tell, miracle (400-2); August, Paugus (411-1); vessel, parcel = pa'cel (411-1); famine, mammon (424-1); blossom, bosom (492-2, 497-1). In the early poems the word-accent is twice wrenched for rime's sake, thin, Katahdin (500-1); finer, retina (512-2). We meet, too, a few assonances: Mainland, trainband (51-2); mateless, greatness (167-1); scamper, Hampshire (300-1); blackguard, backward (317-1); fear thee, near me (439-2); please you, knees to (514-2). But our list is already too long.

Yet, if Whittier's rimes display a Biglow-like freedom of growth that suggests nowhere the pruning hand of his brother abolitionist, Mr. Homer Wilbur, A.M., what matters this, after all, to a lover of his gentler thoughts? A great poet is something more than a rime-smith. Any dryasdust armed with Walker's Dictionary or Hood's 'Rhymester' can couple like sounds; the author of "Snow Bound" and "The Tent on the Beach" makes us forget verse-technic and provincialisms when he portrays

"In old familiar things
The romance underlying."

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, October 13, 1898.

SUGAR-BUSH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In western Massachusetts a small grove of sugar-maple trees is called a sugar orchard or maple orchard. In the Catskills such a grove is known as a sugar-bush or sap-bush. Can any of your readers suggest a derivation for the use of the word "bush" in this connection?—Yours truly, E. N.

NEW YORK, October 20, 1898.

Notes.

Lemcke & Buechner solicit advance orders for Bismarck's Memoirs in the original German, 'Gedanken und Erinnerungen,' making two volumes octavo, "unaltered and complete, as written by him," with introduction and notes by Horst Kohl. The English edition will be brought out next month by Harper & Bros.

Among Frederick A. Stokes & Co.'s October announcements we remark 'A Short History of the War with Spain,' by Marrion Wilcox; 'Cartoons of Our War with Spain,' by Ch. Nelan of the New York *Herald*; 'Ships and Sailors,' by Rufus F. Zogbaum and James S. Barnes; and 'The Jingle-Jangle Rhyme-Book,' by Henry Bradford Simmons, with illustrations in color.

Lamson, Wolffe & Co. will issue immediately 'The Santiago Campaign,' by Major-Gen. Joseph Wheeler; 'Washington the Soldier,' by Gen. Carrington; a translation in blank verse, by Howard Thayer Kingsbury, of "Cyrano de Bergerac"; and 'Philip, the Story of a Boy Violinist,' by T. W. O.

For the holidays, L. C. Page & Co. have nearly ready a new edition of 'The Blessed Damosel,' following the earliest printed version (in the *Gem*), with ornamental borders by W. B. Macdougall, Dante Rossetti's crayon study of the head of the Damosel, and an introduction by W. M. Rossetti.

William Doxey, San Francisco, has in press 'Hawaii Nei,' by Mabel Craft, with numerous original illustrations.

A musical story, 'Poor Human Nature,' by Elizabeth Godfrey, is to be issued shortly by Henry Holt & Co.; along with an 'Elementary Botany,' by Prof. George F. Atkinson of Cornell, with copious illustrations, including many full-page half-tone landscapes.

Dr. Murray hopes to have the entire letter H in type for the Oxford Dictionary before the end of next month.

We have received from George Barrie & Son the first four parts of their history of the 'Army and Navy of the United States,' which is to be illustrated by 300 pictures in the text and 50 full-plate photogravures of the uniforms worn by soldiers and sailors and of famous ships in service, from the Revolution to the present day. There are to be 25 parts of 16 pages each. This work was originally undertaken by the Government, whose aid and official approval the present publishers have received. The reading-matter is intended to be absolutely trustworthy, historically, and the supplement is to contain over two hundred thousand names of all officers in active service from Bunker Hill to Santiago and Manila. Paper and printing are both of the best, and the only criticism which can be made at present is the illogical arrangement of the pictures, by which types of uniforms and historical ships are jumbled together with little or no reference to the letterpress.

The twelfth volume of Mr. J. H. Slater's 'Book Prices Current' (London: Elliot Stock) is prefaced by an explanation of its appearance in the same twelvemonth with volume xi. The calendar year has been replaced by the auction year, with good reason. The sales now recorded are pronounced the most important in ten years, partly in consequence of the disposition of two-thirds of the Ashburnham library. Editions of Burns coming upon the market have chanced to be notable. In other respects there is not much to be remarked. There is the usual collectors' contention for Bewick and Cruikshank, for Dickens and Thackeray, for Stevenson and Kipling. The demand for Rousseau and Voltaire respectively is inversely to the attention which these writers receive at the present day.

Mrs. Browning's 'Sonnets from the Portuguese,' compound of tears and passion, more valuable often for the single culminating line than for the entire conceit, have been daintily republished in London by George Bell & Sons. The ornamentation of borders and initials has been successfully executed, but we dislike the affectation of abolishing indention for the broken line.

In the delectable Temple Edition of Scott's novels (London: Dent; New York: Scribners), bound in flexible lambskin, and provided with topographical frontispieces from the pen of Herbert Railton, 'The Abbot' has been reached, and fills two of the pocket volumes. To Messrs. Scribner we are also in debt for two additional volumes (ix. and x.) in the handsome uniform series of James Whitcomb Riley's works, viz., his 'Armazindy' and his 'Child-World,' both verse collections in the main; two more in the series of short "Stories by Foreign Authors"—to wit, Italian, and Polish, Greek, Bulgarian, Hungarian, with portraits of De Amicis and Sienkiewicz; a reprint of 'The Navy in the Civil War,' by Prof. Soley, Capt. Mahan, and Admiral Ammen, revived for obvious reasons after fifteen years, in three volumes, each indexed; and, in an eighth edition, 'The Book of Games,' by Mary White, whose thirty-

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first diversion is extemporaneous china painting, of which the humorous author says that "to entertain successfully a party of people for half an evening, nothing could be better."

Commendable are the three latest 'Little Masterpieces,' edited by Prof. Bliss Perry of Princeton, and published by Doubleday & McClure Co., with portraits of Macaulay, Ruskin, and Carlyle.

Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's 'Great Words from Great Americans' (Putnams) is an annotated reproduction in open print of the Declaration of Independence (with facsimile of signatures) and Constitution (with an index); Washington's circular letter to the Governors of the thirteen States, first and second inaugurals, and Farewell Address; Lincoln's two inaugurals and Gettysburg Address (with a facsimile), and numerous portraits, views, etc. The volume will prove a convenience, and is just now a veritable anti-imperialist vade-mecum.

The little moralities dubbed 'Autobiographical Reminiscences of Henry Ward Beecher,' by his stenographer, T. J. Ellinwood, are drawn from reports of his sermons and lecture-room talks. Some are trivial enough, and a much better arrangement might have been made, chronologically and topically.

M. de Wyzewa, who has done many good things in the graceful French art of criticism, has an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on Harriet Beecher Stowe, which is full of enthusiastic appreciation of the importance, for the history of a country, of her great work, and also of the strenuous spirit which caused her, from girlhood, to long for the occasion to devote her felt powers to some worthy end. The writer in the London *Quarterly Review*, who also makes Mrs. Fields's biography the occasion for an article, regards Mrs. Stowe's inspiration as of similar nature with that of Joan of Arc.

In a charming article in the Berlin *Zukunft* of September 17, Prof. Hugo Münsterberg of Harvard passes from a hint of the extraneousness of the late war and its imperceptible effect on the regular teaching of the University, to a consideration of German newspaper unfriendliness during hostilities, and finally to a psychologic comparison of the two peoples. He errs, we are sure, in saying that the declaration of war was in accordance with the desire (*dem Wunsch*) of a majority of Americans; but his informal and incidental view of the American character, as against that ignorantly held by the average German, will be recognized as just. His thesis is that the American is at bottom an idealist, and that his entire inner life is controlled by idealism. On this he predicates a closer natural union between Americans and Germans than between Americans and Englishmen, saying that mere community of the sporting spirit without common ideals has nothing binding in it. He foresees, as a consequence of the war, the future contact of America and Germany to an extent which makes an international understanding of grave importance, and he contributes his mite to it. Prof. Münsterberg forcibly remarks on the fact that while Germans quickly feel at home in this country, Frenchmen always remain strangers. He illustrates this by conversations held here at about the same time with Helmholtz and Paul Bourget; the Frenchman not knowing that his feeling of strangeness proceeded from the German element in the American character.

Modern Oriental research has two particular *cruces* which, at the present stage of affairs, seem to be insoluble. They are both historical problems, but both based on philological perplexities. The one deals with the somewhat mysterious Hittites, and seeks, on the basis of meagre inscriptions, to locate, historically and ethnographically, this strange people. The other even more important problem is the Sumerian question, the claim that the civilization and culture represented by the Babylonian literature of the cuneiform inscriptions was not the original production of that Semitic nation, but was merely an adaptation from a Turanian race that had preceded the Semites of historic age in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, just as the Pelasgians did the Hellenes. The general tendency among scholars in recent years has manifestly been in the direction of denying the existence of a non-Semitic type of civilization, but the defence of the Sumerian theory still finds new friends, as in F. H. Weissbach's 'Die Sumerische Frage,' in which it is maintained that the cuneiform style of writing was the invention of a non-Semitic race. Dr. Jeremias, in reviewing this work in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of Leipzig, No. 19, shows how exceedingly meagre the data are for such a thesis, and that even the Telloh tablets and the Nippur finds, from which so much had been expected, give us absolutely no material for believing in the existence of Sumerian texts.

Throughout the Greek centres of the East a considerable number of "Syllogoi," or literary societies, are displaying much activity in the publication of manuscript matter found in the many (mostly smaller) collections in the monasteries and other depositories of the Levant. Financially the strongest among these is doubtless the Russian Palestine Syllogos, and to its efforts scholars are indebted for access to not a few excellent literary remains and remnants of the Greek Orient. Among its present projects is the publication on a really magnificent scale of a Catalogue of the Jerusalem Library, edited by the indefatigable Papadopoulos-Kerameus. Three volumes have appeared. The third (440 pages quarto) gives detailed descriptions of 109 manuscripts, the earliest of which dates from the eighth century. It overabounds, perhaps, in minor particulars. The manuscripts here described are of special interest for the student of Oriental ecclesiastical history. Another series published by the same society and edited by the same scholar is entitled "Inedita," and contains valuable original matter collected from many sources, chiefly on the history of the Eastern Church. Its fourth volume has also recently left the press of the society in St. Petersburg, and two are to follow. The agency for the Western trade is the house of Harrasowitz in Leipzig. Next to the St. Petersburg Society, the most active in the publication of new material is the Syllogos in Constantinople, which issues in pamphlet form at regular intervals a "Hellenicos Syllogos."

That entertaining monthly journal the *Far East* has been absorbed with its staff in the *Kokumin Shimbun* of Tokyo, which has decided to introduce amid its normal Japanese characters an "international department written in English and Romanized Japanese," but also with occasional admission of other European languages. "Short notes, written in Romanized Japanese, sometimes with translation in English, will be regularly inserted once or twice a week." This is a noteworthy step indeed. The daily may be procured by addressing the publishers at No. 4 Hiyoshicho, Tokyo; the subscription price being 3.85 yen, plus a monthly postage (abroad) of 50 sen.

Statistics of the foreign trade of the Philippines for the last six years occupy the first place in the Consular Reports for September, and are followed by a description of the Caroline Islands. The largest space, however, is given to accounts of the commerce and trade openings of South Africa. The October number opens with an interesting review of trade conditions in Egypt, with useful suggestions as to the best business methods for foreigners. There is also a condensed account of the French colonies and protectorates, their area, population, and annual foreign trade. The total value of the French exports and imports is about $144,000,000, or thirty millions less than the trade of Singapore in 1896, but the expense of administration is not stated. The Consul in Moscow writes that a commercial institute is to be opened next year in Vladivostock, Eastern Siberia. Special instruction will be afforded in commercial and industrial lines. The term of preparation will last five years, and there will be three divisions—Chinese-Japanese, Chinese-Korean, and Chinese-Mongolian.

In 1880 Germany threw open the doors of its courts, for practice, to all who could pass the prescribed legal *rigorosum* of the state, and since that date the number of lawyers in the Fatherland has increased from 4,091 to 6,149, or 50.3 per cent. In Berlin there was actually a "lawyer famine," and here the increase has been from 141 to 702. On the other hand, the neighboring Charlottenburg, with 132,377 inhabitants, has only 18, and Barmen, probably on account of its proximity to Elberfeld, has only 15. In proportion to the population, Frankfort is best supplied, having one attorney for every 1,806 inhabitants.

—A fireside conversation with Napoleon when First Consul, on October 3, 1800, has been unearthed by Senator Hoar, and was contributed by him to the American Antiquarian Society, which has just printed it in the last report of its proceedings. It was derived from the manuscript journal, now in the Congressional Library and never before published, of Vans Murray, one of the three American Commissioners (and the most active of them) in making a treaty which secured us peace after imminent danger of war with France. No future historian can afford to ignore any part of this journal, but we have room only for a few personal details. Napoleon met Mr. Murray at a château twenty miles out of Paris. "He was very affable, in five minutes he proposed a walk, and asked me to join him. We went out and walked in the shrubbery alone for half an hour; his conversation was general; about the rapprochement we had made and the good understanding which would now follow," etc., etc. At a concert the same day: "I had a seat near the First Consul. His brother Lucien and he were on a sofa near the orchestra. Before it began he spoke to some of the performers, and seemed to speak scientifically about music. He is about the height of Gen'l Hamilton, hardly so tall, not large nor square, but well made. His complexion a pale, tinged with an Italian and Egyptian, hue; eyes a lively, piercing grey, large, and a good deal of white about them, particularly when he laughs a little, and he laughs but little when at all. Then his eyes

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open in accord with his smile and an under low heh! heh! showing his teeth also, by falling the under jaw. . . . His hair is black and well placed, short in his neck, and neither combed on his forehead nor turned back, but rumpled and standing different ways: he certainly looks best so, it gives more the air of his countenance. His voice is good, though not loud," etc., etc. The next day, Murray says: "I spoke to Bonaparte, who was sitting on the left of the fireplace, in a grey riding-coat, he had not been long returned from the chase [in a shower]. He asked me to sit down by him, and Lafayette on my left. He told me they had taken a biche. I asked him how he bore the wet and fatigue. His answer was: *Ah, très bien, je suis un militaire, et très accoutumé à la fatigue et beaucoup d'exercice.* He spoke about the American Government and constitution with an air of real inquiry, which convinced me he wished to know of what he was not well informed." Murray adds a dozen questions put to him, with his answers. "Bonaparte talked gaily with the little daughter of his brother Lucien, whom he handed into the dining-room. The child talked freely, and he jocosely said something menacing. She said: 'Very well, I have a friend who will defend me, and who is able to do it against you.' 'Who is that?' said he. 'Lucien, Minister of the Interior,' said the little girl."

—Prof. Hart of Harvard objects, in the current issue of the *American Historical Review*, to passionate appeals to Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe against imperialism. What he calls "the historical progress of the Cuban question" "in the four hundred years which have rolled away since America was discovered," should reconcile the rest of us, as it has reconciled him, to what is going on in the West Indies and the Philippines towards saddling the responsibility for those islands upon us. His "historical progress" is only a euphemism for "manifest destiny," or else he must pretend that the war could not have been averted, although it is notorious that a majority of our population was taken entirely aback at the thought of war at a time when the Administration and the majority in the Senate were fully bent upon it. Every political status has an historical progress leading up to it, as cause and effect; but that has nothing to do with the inevitableness of the next stage. There was an "irrepressible conflict" between freedom and slavery under the old Constitution and Union, but whether forcible secession should be persisted in after the proffer of the Crittenden compromise and the adoption of the Corwin amendment to the Constitution, depended upon the worldly wisdom of the Confederate leaders. Prof. Hart infers an aptitude for the study of history from the American people's eagerness to "make history," as it has just, he thinks, been signally doing; this phrase not being applicable to humdrum instrumentalities like yellow journals, bosses, trade-unions, Ohio wool-growers, Nevada silver-mine-owners and Hawaiian sugar-planters, Tanners, Altgelds, Hills, and Blacks, pension agents, and what feeble organized resistance good citizens can oppose to such corruption of the body politic. The "Historical Opportunity of America" awaits a war of aggression; and now if we will only flock to the libraries, gather up the scattered papers of Salmon P. Chase, and put a tablet on every Revolutionary building, we shall all learn how, by natural selection of principles and precedents, to persuade ourselves and the world that the United States is at this moment pursuing its historical path.

—Unlike Mr. Stevens's 'Yesterdays in the Philippines,' Mr. Amos K. Fiske's 'Story of the Philippines' (New York: Army and Navy Illustrated) treats not of the commonplace, every-day life, but mounts to the consideration of the past history, statistics, and future of Spain's former stronghold in the East. The author's avowed purpose is "to tell the story of the Philippines—their so-called discovery by Spain, their possession and government by that country, their physical characteristics, natural resources, their inhabitants, native and alien; the progress and development they have experienced under the adverse conditions of Spanish colonial rule, and the possibilities that await them under different conditions." All this in 158 pages, and at second hand. Sentences like this, which begins chapter xiii., speak for themselves: "The evidence in this chapter contained relative to the character and habits and the social and domestic conditions of the native inhabitants of these islands, is founded upon *information and belief*, and for its absolute accuracy this deponent voucheth not." In another instance Mr. Fiske says: "*Probably* some of the Spanish priests and friars are men of intelligence and high character." That he has never visited the islands appears from this passage about Manila: "Bathing on the beach . . . is indulged in promiscuously by all ages and both sexes in a state of natural nakedness, without thought of impropriety. . . . This shows that in one direction a tropical climate may improve the moral sense and tend to civilize mankind." The truth is that the average Filipino around Manila is as modest as he is immoral. A stranger is struck with the fact that neither native men nor women near Manila ever expose their persons in bathing, and yet he soon finds that the word "moral" is not in the Philippine dictionary. The book ends with a description of the fight on May 1 in Manila Bay, and contains fourteen illustrations.

—Vol. xxvi. of the 'Jesuit Relations' (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Co.) is wholly occupied with Document liii. of the series—the report for the years 1643-44. This is among the most extended narratives which fall within the limits of any single twelvemonth, comprising two parts: the one by Vimont from Quebec, the other by Lalemant from the Hurons. Each writer is charged with that intense spirit of action which characterizes Jesuit life in Canada between 1640 and 1650. We are now well advanced in the culminating decade of their endeavors. The machinery of conversion has been fully developed, colonization has added greater physical force to the undertaking, while despite past and present sufferings the Society has not yet lost hope. Relationships are more complex than before, and efforts more strenuous. Excited, though self-controlled, with nerves on edge and throbbing hearts, the Black Fathers press forward to the consummation or destruction of their work. Among the topics which one expects to find conspicuously treated in these narratives, two lack their usual prominence, viz., the connection between piety at home and missionary zeal in New France; and the progress of colonization. The seminaries, savage stubbornness against the truth, the torture of the priests themselves (for instance, Father Bressani), and native usages, are the leading topics advanced.

—As we have in recent notes dwelt almost exclusively on the missionaries and their miseries, we shall call attention now to a curious Indian ceremony at Tadoussac which Vimont reports. "The desire of immortality," says our Jesuit author, "reigns in the minds of savages as well as in the souls of the most civilized nation." They "resuscitate" a chieftain by observing certain ceremonies which signify respect for the dead, and at the same time give the tribe a new leader. Captains of neighboring and friendly bands are invited, presents are provided, furs, food, and the other commodities of savage wealth are paraded, and a master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings. The chieftain-elect is brought from the cabin where he has been waiting, receives a richer robe than that in which he was clad before, and is adorned with a collar of porcelain beads. Then, after he has been given a handsome calumet and the necessary tobacco, a special official—with painted face—rises and declares the object of the meeting. This "herald" first lauds the dead, and, after describing the circumstances of his demise, concludes by stating that he lives again in the person of the successor designate. "There he is, who is clothed with that fine robe. It is no longer he whom you lately saw, and whose name was Nehap. He has given his name to another savage. His name is Etouait (that was the name of the deceased). Look upon him as the true captain of his tribe. It is he whom you must obey; it is he to whom you must listen, and whom you must honor." Here follow many interesting details of presents, food, and speeches. The new chief expresses his want of wisdom and general shortcomings in a tone of perfectly civilized humility and with more than modern conciseness. Decorum prevails, gifts are handed about in the most generous spirit, and the gravity of the spectators could not have been more complete had they stood within the gray walls of a cathedral.

—By appointment of the authorities of the University of Jena, Dr. Julius Pierstoff, Professor Ordinarius of Law in that institution, has prepared a full résumé of the salaries paid at the various universities of the Fatherland, the object which the Jena authorities had in view being primarily an increase of the salaries, on the ground that the instructors of that institution receive the smallest salaries among the university men of Germany. The *Denkschrift* of Prof. Pierstoff was printed "as manuscript," *i. e.*, for private circulation only; but the *Hochschulnachrichten*, No. 93, gives the leading data of his compilation. From this it appears that the salaries at the Bavarian Universities, Erlangen, Munich, and Würzburg, are on the whole in the most satisfactory condition, the present arrangement dating back to 1872 and 1892. At these three institutions, a full professor, from his thirtieth year, receives a salary of 5,100 marks ($1,275), which quinquennially is increased until in his seventieth it reaches the maximum of 7,080 marks ($1,770). An extraordinary professor at thirty receives 3,600 marks, the maximum at seventy being 5,580. These are the minimum sums, which are occasionally increased in the cases where a professor is transferred from one school to another, or the Government desires him to decline a call

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to a non-Bavarian university. In no case, however, is the sum greater than 9,000 marks ($2,250). In Prussia, too, the salary question has been regulated by law. The average salary for a full professor in Berlin is 6,500 marks, and in other universities 5,500, while that of the extraordinary professor is respectively 3,250 and 2,750. The Berlin ordinarius begins with 4,800, and elsewhere with 4,000, to which, however, a certain sum for rent is added, with a gradual increase of 400 marks in intervals of four years. This increase a Berlin ordinarius may expect five times, but the professor in the provinces only four times. The Prussian extraordinary professor receives at the outset just half the salary of the ordinarius. These sums are the minimum, increased at times for special reasons.

—In general the Prussian Government, in deciding the salary of a teacher, makes the sum depend to a great extent on the personality and reputation of the individual. A special law regulates the inequality resulting from the difference in the lecture fees received by the various professors—these lecture fees in all the German universities being an income in addition to the regular salary—by decreeing that in Berlin the ordinary professor can receive annually only one-half of these in case they exceed the sum of 4,500 marks, and in the provinces 3,000; the other half being taken by the state for the benefit of other teachers not blessed with large salaries or fees. In the Würtemberg University of Tübingen, a three-class system of normal salaries is in vogue for the full professors, based on the years of service. The minimum salary is 4,030 marks. The extraordinarius begins with 2,020. A special fund of nearly 150,000 marks is at the disposal of the Government for special salaries in special cases. In the two universities of Baden, Heidelberg and Freiburg, the average salary of the ordinarius is 6,955 marks, with additional sums in special cases. The extraordinarii draw salaries varying from 1,820 to 5,220 marks. The Imperial University at Strassburg and the Saxon at Leipzig pay good salaries, but the sums are not mentioned; while the Hessian institution at Giessen pays its full professors 4,300, and its assistants or associates 3,250, with an increase until after twenty-five years of service the maximum sums of 6,300 and 5,250 are reached. In Rostock, the smallest of the German universities, the salaries of the full professors run from 4,500 to 5,850 marks; the extraordinarius begins with 2,400. In Jena the lowest sums are paid, the ordinarii receiving 300 less than is paid even at Rostock.

BUSCH'S BISMARCK.

Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History. Being a Diary kept by Dr. Moritz Busch during twenty-five years' official and private intercourse with the great Chancellor. Two vols., 8vo, pp. xvi, 504, 585. The Macmillan Co. 1898.

No politician ever used the newspapers more systematically than did Bismarck. He began to organize Prussian influence over the press when he was at Frankfort, in the fifties. When he became Premier, the press bureau connected with the Foreign Office at Berlin was brought to unexampled perfection. A number of ready writers, journalists and professors, were employed to work up articles which Bismarck desired to have published and to secure the insertion of these articles in German or foreign journals. Sometimes the Premier gave a mere hint of what he wanted; sometimes elaborate instructions. At times he dictated the entire article. He nearly always indicated the journal or journals in which the article was to be published. Of the newspapers listed as available, some were notoriously in confidential relations with the Foreign Office; others were unsuspected; many had only occasional relations with the Prussian Government. The articles appeared sometimes as editorials, sometimes as correspondence from German or foreign cities. If the matter verged on the scandalous, it was first printed in "any out-of-the-way yellow journal" *(irgend ein entferntes Schandblatt)*, in the confident expectation that it would soon find its way home (vol. ii., p. 56).

It was for this sort of work that Busch, a journalist and writer of books, was taken into the Foreign Office, February 23, 1870. He was not placed in the regular press bureau; he was to be a sort of auxiliary skirmisher, receiving orders directly from the Chancellor. During the war of 1870 he accompanied Bismarck and the mobilized Foreign Office into France. The rough life of the campaign threw the chief and his staff into close companionship: they lived in the same quarters, messed together, and discussed questions of all sorts with military freedom. After Bismarck's return to Berlin in March, 1871, this easy intercourse came to an end, and Busch saw the Chancellor only when he was summoned to receive instructions. In July, 1871, even these business interviews ceased, and Busch had only to carry out the instructions transmitted to him through others. In his immediate relations to Bismarck he was supplanted by Professor Aegidi, for whom he instantly conceived a natural and rancorous hatred. He still enjoyed, however, the privilege of inspecting documents relating to foreign affairs, which had been granted to him during the war, and he took the liberty of making excerpts for his own use. He also received much confidential information from Lothar Bucher, a man of great ability and high character, whose relations to Bismarck were of longer standing than his and far closer.

In the spring of 1873 Busch had grown thoroughly weary of his subordinate position, and exchanged it for the editorship of the *Hannoverscher Courier*. His resignation was accepted with the customary thanks for his diligent services, and, in accordance with the arrangement made when he took office, a pension of 1,200 thalers was granted him. In a parting interview Busch promised to hold his pen at the service of the Chancellor, and it was arranged that he should receive inspiration from Bucher. More than four years elapsed before Busch again saw the Chancellor. The last two years of this period were spent in Leipzig; for Busch had left the *Courier* and joined the staff of the *Grenzboten*. In April, 1877 (on a hint from Bucher), he went to Berlin in order to get points for a journalistic campaign against the court clique which was endeavoring to oust Bismarck from his place, and which, according to the information Busch received, was headed by no less a person than the Empress Augusta. From this time till 1893 Busch saw Bismarck every year except 1884 and 1892, and made several visits at Varzin and at Friedrichsruh.

At first the interviews were sought and accorded for journalistic purposes only. Whenever Busch heard or suspected that subterranean work of importance was wanted, he applied for direct instructions, and his applications were usually granted. Then came interviews about Bismarck articles which Busch was to write, and other interviews regarding the Bismarck books he had written and wished to publish. Bismarck was induced, with some difficulty, to read these books before they were published, and then came further interviews over the proof-sheets. Finally, in 1888 and afterwards, Busch was occasionally called in to sort and copy the Prince's correspondence. In no single year, however, was the number of Berlin interviews above half-a-dozen; and the longest visit, that at Friedrichsruh in the autumn of 1888, extended over only five weeks. We particularize in this fashion in order to show how incorrect an impression is given by the claim of "twenty-five years' . . . intercourse." Counting each day in which Busch saw Bismarck as a full day of "intercourse," we roughly estimate, from Busch's own statements, that, after the first year (1870-'71), he enjoyed three months of Bismarck's society.

Of the opportunities accorded him Busch unquestionably made the most diligent use conceivable. He had a good memory, which grew stronger with practice. No matter what burden of work was thrown upon him—and Bismarck spared his assistants as little as he spared himself—Busch always found an opportunity, after each day with his chief, to jot down the interesting things that Bismarck had said; and Bismarck himself seems to have admitted the accuracy of these reports. The first important use which Busch made of his material was to publish, in 1878, a great part of the diary he had kept during the French war. In this book there was some padding, but an immense amount of Bismarck—more of the real every-day Bismarck than the public had then had from any other source. The success achieved by 'Graf Bismarck und seine Leute' was very great; it had a remarkable sale in Germany and was translated into various foreign languages, appearing in English as 'Bismarck in the Franco-German War.' In the following year Busch published some further extracts from his diary—'Neue Tagebuchsblätter'—but these attracted much less attention. In 1884 Busch attempted something more ambitious in 'Unser Reichskanzler.' He endeavored to portray Bismarck's character in a systematic way, using not only his own notes, but Bismarck's published correspondence and speeches. In this book there was so much more Busch than Bismarck that it fell comparatively flat. It was, however, translated into English, and has furnished Bismarck's biographers with some useful anecdotical material. During the past summer, immediately after Bismarck's death, Busch published in the London *Times* some new extracts from his diary and from the papers he had copied at Varzin and at Friedrichsruh; and almost simultaneously there was printed in Germany a pamphlet entitled 'Bismarck und sein Werk,' in which he utilized the same new matter.

In the present work we have, in English translation, practically all of Busch's material: the original diary which he kept from 1870 to 1893; many of the newspaper articles which he wrote at Bismarck's suggestion (and not infrequently from Bismarck's

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dictation); and the copies of documents or excerpts from documents which he made in the Foreign Office, at Varzin or at Friedrichsruh. There is naturally a great deal of matter in these volumes that has been used in his previous books. The greater part of the first volume (pp. 48-423) is merely a new edition of 'Bismarck in the Franco-German War'; but a good deal of the padding has been removed, the translation is more accurate, and nearly all the passages that had to be suppressed in 1878 are now printed. The relation of the second volume to Busch's other books and magazine articles is somewhat similar, although we have here somewhat more new matter.

The historical importance of the new matter in the present work is not great. Nearly all the revelations Busch hesitated to make in his earlier publications have in the meantime been made by others. That King William wished to attend the assembly of German Princes at Frankfort in 1863, and that Bismarck had great difficulty in preventing him, we learned many years ago from Sybel. That the Crown Prince opposed the reactionary policy of the *Conflictszeit* (1862-'66) was fully understood at the time. That Bismarck found it far from easy to induce the King to follow the anti-Austrian policy of 1865 and 1866, and to sign an alliance with Italy, we have long known; the facts were first revealed by the Italians and then set forth by Sybel. The story of the Gablenz mission of 1866, just before the war with Austria, is also in Sybel. The scene in the hut in Bohemia, where Bismarck pleaded with the King and Moltke for a lenient treatment of Austria and a speedy peace; his failure to convince them by argument, his retreat to an adjoining room, his hysterical sobbing, and the King's final compliance—all this has long been in print. That Bismarck promoted the candidacy of Prince Leopold for the vacant Spanish throne; that this candidacy was "a trap" set for Napoleon; that the trap was sprung with the "editing" of the Ems dispatch—all this again was suspected by Sorel and made certain several years ago by the publication of the diary kept by Leopold's brother, King Charles of Rumania, and the printing of the story of the *dîner à trois* in Berlin. That all the "exalted ladies" at Berlin opposed the bombardment of Paris, and that Frederick was induced by his wife to work against it, was made notorious at the time, largely through the efforts of Busch and the other press agents of the Prussian Foreign Office. That Frederick desired to deal roundly with the South German states in 1870 and force them, if necessary, into the proposed empire; that Bismarck opposed this course and achieved the desired end by diplomacy—this came out ten years ago in the public discussion provoked by the excerpts from Frederick's diary which Geffcken published in the *Rundschau;* and here again Busch had a hand in the revelations. Passing to the period subsequent to 1870, we obtained the inside Bismarckian view of all the principal events several years ago, from Blum, in his 'Deutsches Reich zur Zeit Bismarcks.' Blum, like Busch, had interviews with Bismarck, and Bismarck read his proof-sheets also. Blum told the story of Bismarck's enforced resignation just as Busch tells it. All that Busch adds is the text of Bismarck's resignation. This, however, is not the document for which historians have been waiting. What they want to see is the memorial which accompanied the resignation, and in which Bismarck set forth the reasons why it was desirable for him to remain in office. Of this memorial Busch claims to have a copy, but he does not dare to print it; he fears that it would disturb Germany's foreign relations.

It would be unnecessary to recapitulate all these things that we knew before, except for the fact that Busch tells them all with the air of giving us something quite new. He never refers to the version which others have given of the same story—not even when it varies from his own. This has already misled many reviewers who are imperfectly acquainted with the Bismarck literature; and their reviews have given the public an exaggerated impression of the importance of Busch's book as a contribution to history.

In many cases, however, as has just been intimated, Busch's version of a story—or rather Bismarck's version as reported by Busch—differs from the account elsewhere and previously printed. New or varying details are added; and in some cases new light is thrown upon the events described. Whether this new light is always a white light, and the new color which facts assume a true color, may be doubted. Bismarck was a great *racontcur*—one of the greatest of our time. He had a literary instinct for effective presentation and dramatic point; and every student of literature knows that this temperament produces a mixture (sometimes unconscious) of *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Besides this, Bismarck was before all things a politician. The spoken or written word was to him an instrument for affecting men's minds, for controlling opinion, and shaping events through opinion. Even in his retirement it was impossible for him to speak or write without this instinctive tendency. Bucher, who began in 1890 to write Bismarck's memoirs from dictation, told Busch that he was "well-nigh desperate" over the work. Bismarck's chronology, he declared, was quite untrustworthy, and falsified the causal relations of things (vol. ii., p. 562. "Casual" is the adjective in the text—an obvious misprint). This was partly due to the infirmities of age; but

"There is yet another drawback. In these notes he might think of history, of a legacy for the future, and that would certainly be most praiseworthy and useful, as there are many things of which he alone has a complete and accurate knowledge. But he seems to be thinking rather of something else. *His thoughts are still with the present, which he desires to influence.*" (Vol. ii., pp. 541, 542. The italics are ours.)

Here Bucher has clearly diagnosed the temperamental bias of the man of action; and this bias was, of course, always operative—not merely in Bismarck's old age, but also in 1870, when Busch began to report his table-talk.

Of greater value, for historical purposes, are the documents that Busch prints in the latter part of his second volume. Of especial interest is the letter, remonstrating against the policy of the ministry, which Frederick wrote to Bismarck in 1863, with Bismarck's marginal comments. From this letter and these comments alone a historian of any insight could reconstruct the two men. Characteristic in a high degree is also Bismarck's memorial to the King, in the same year, concerning the public opposition of the Crown Prince. "Even now," he writes, "clergymen are preaching from the text 2 Samuel, ch. xv., verses 3 and 4" (vol. ii., p. 462). The clergymen were probably mythical, and Bismarck does not enlarge upon the point or write out the verses; but when King William looked them up, he read:

"*And Absalom said unto him, See, thy matters are good and right; but there is no man deputed of the King to hear thee.*

"Absalom said, moreover, Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me, and I would do him justice."

The majority of the new things that we find in Busch's present volumes are rather of biographical than of historical interest. The portions of the diary kept during the French war that were omitted in 1878 and are printed now, are chiefly frank expressions of Bismarck's opinions of nearly all the rulers of Germany, from "the Coburger" up to King William. They are in many cases extremely disrespectful; in not a few instances they would have furnished ample ground, if the speaker had been a common man, for prosecution. Bismarck was quite within bounds when he said, in November, 1870: "Every one of us has already deserved ten years' penal servitude, if all our jibing at princes during the campaign were proved against us" (vol. i., p. 239). There is less of this sort of thing in the second volume, but there is quite enough there also to explain the sensation which extracts from the book are said to have excited in Germany.

The biographical value of Bismarck's appreciations of the old Emperor, of Frederick, of their consorts and of William II., is incontestable; but his judgments, like his historical reminiscences, are to be used with caution. They depended to a considerable extent upon the momentary relation of agreement or disagreement between Bismarck and the person of whom he was speaking. When Frederick is in opposition to Bismarck, he lacks the strong sense of duty which characterizes his father (vol. i., p. 282). When, nine years later, Bismarck is struggling to obtain the old Emperor's assent to the Austrian alliance, and is supported by Frederick, the former is dull, wilful, and opinionated, "but the Crown Prince is entirely different" (vol. ii., p. 196). After Frederick's death, however, and the publication of his diary, "he was far from being as clever as his father, and the latter was certainly not a first-rate politician" (vol. ii., p. 428). There are similar changes in the view taken at different periods of the Crown Princess Victoria (Empress Frederick); and there is naturally a great difference in Bismarck's opinion of the present Emperor before and after 1890. The only prominent person of whom Bismarck never expresses a favorable opinion is the old Empress, Augusta, who was always in opposition to his policy; first on liberal grounds, and later under clerical influences. If, however, we contrast the judgments passed on each person at different periods, and allow for the momentary bias which affected the single utterance, we get in each case a striking and fairly consistent portrait.

On Bismarck's own character these newly revealed utterances throw no new light. Busch was not the only person before whom Bismarck spoke freely, and many of the Chancellor's sarcasms about royal personages circulated in the diplomatic gossip of Berlin and of Europe until they found their way into print. It is probably true, as Bismarck said in alluding to the things that Busch had heard from him: "The King knows that I have already said much worse things of him" (vol. ii., p. 100); and the King's knowledge of his Premier's unbridled

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license of speech gives a special meaning to the remark he made to a Minister who could not get on with Bismarck: "We must all learn to be patient" (vol. ii., p. 380). But though Busch does not disclose to us for the first time this trait in Bismarck's character, he gives us many striking illustrations of it besides a couple of quotable sayings from Bismarck himself. "I lack altogether the bump of veneration for my fellow-man," he once truly remarked (vol. ii., p. 307); and at another time he declared that, but for his religious belief, he could see no reason why he should subordinate himself "to those Hohenzollerns. They are a Suabian family no better than my own." "A resolute faith in a life after death—for that reason I am a royalist; otherwise I am by nature a republican" (vol. i., pp. 163, 164). We have here a really curious bit of Bismarck psychology—his association of belief in religion with submission to royalty. It was thoroughly mediæval, but it was perfectly genuine. In 1847, he had asserted that the words "by the grace of God" were to him no empty sound, and his views on this point never changed.

Busch tells us repeatedly that he had Bismarck's authority to publish "everything" after Bismarck's death. He reports one utterance of Bismarck's, however, which should have made him hesitate:

"Ever since 1847 I have constantly represented the monarchic principle and held it aloft like a banner. Now I have seen three Kings in a state of nakedness, and frequently these exalted gentlemen did not make altogether a very good show. Still it would not do to say that. . . . And if it [the publication of the memoirs] takes place after my death, then they will say: 'There you have it! Even from his grave! What a detestable old wretch' " (vol. ii., p. 549).

Of course the chief significance of Busch's book is to be found in the picture he gives us of his hero. In its general effect it is undeniably repellent. Bismarck's high opinion of himself, his arrogance, his overbearing disposition, his capacity as a hater—all these things are strongly brought out. Of the fidelity of the picture there can be as little question, we think, as of the accuracy of a photograph. But we all know that the camera is capable of caricature. Everything depends on the light, the position of the sitter, and his momentary expression. In estimating the truth of the impression that Busch makes, we must remember that many of the utterances he reports were made in moments of expansion when, after work at high pressure, Bismarck vented the impatience or anger aroused by hindrance or opposition; many more were made when he was directing underground press-work against his adversaries, and his nature was "subdued to what it worked in."

THE ARMY CHAPLAIN.

War Memories of an Army Chaplain. By H. Clay Trumbull, formerly Chaplain of the Tenth Connecticut Volunteers. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo, pp. 421.

Mr. Trumbull has given us a book upon the civil war which is in some respects unique. The chaplain of a regiment had a peculiar experience, and as the clerical profession is in constant touch with literary work, it is a wonder that we have not oftener heard from the chaplain concerning his army life. Most of our veterans would say that it was so rarely satisfactory to the chaplain himself that he does not usually recur to it with pleasure or care to tell the unvarnished story. Mr. Trumbull's position in his regiment was exceptionally free from irksome conditions. He had a cordial understanding with the commandant, who took uncommon pains to give dignity and official recognition to the chaplain's work and to his personal position among the officers of the field and staff. Then the chaplain himself seems to have had uncommon adaptation to the rough life of the camp, and to have made himself acceptable to officers and men without forfeiting respect for his calling. He was recognized by the officers as a useful supporter of discipline and an aid to good relations with the rank and file, and by the latter as a friend in need and a hearty sympathizer in suffering or in sickness.

Chaplain Trumbull does not touch upon the radical difficulty found in the relations of the Government to religion. In this country the separation of Church and State creates peculiar embarrassments in selecting and appointing a chaplain for anything—an asylum, a legislative body, a prison, or a military organization. We all know that such appointments are too often farcical, and tend to bring our greatest public functions into contempt. The fathers took pains to show that, in separating government and religion, they did not mean to be irreligious, as when in the great Ordinance of 1787 they declared education and religion to be the pillars of a republic; but their children have never been able to find a way to choose a permanent chaplain for any public organization, civil or military, without giving good ground for debate whether the omission would not be better than the observance.

The problem became hopeless at the outbreak of the civil war. There were some fifteen hundred chaplains to be appointed, first and last, each chaplaincy a public office with "the pay and emoluments of a captain of cavalry." In the first great surge of patriotic emotion, many noble pastors offered to go with the young men of their flocks, and were appointed chaplains by the Governors of States. Even at first there was self-seeking, however, and it was not long before this office, like every other, was sought for with the use of all the "influences" and "pulls" which characterized professional office-seeking. The denominations and ecclesiastical organizations of the country had no recognized control over the appointments and hardly a practical check upon them. If a man was an authorized clergyman of a religious denomination, he was eligible. What constituted a "religious denomination," who could tell? A Mormon, a Shaker, a spirit-rapper, made quite as loud claims to belong to a religious denomination as any ordained minister or priest of the better known organizations. Governors of States differed in creed, or no creed, as much as their people. The fear of offending large classes of voters would make it easier to ignore the importunity of those who were backed only by small classes; the general wish of the men of a regiment had real weight; and so we could console ourselves, as we so often have to do, that the outcome might have been worse.

Logical consistency with our constitutional principle of independence of Church and State would not have worked badly if it had been earnestly tried. The home mission societies of the churches would have sent their missionaries into the field with as much zeal and as liberal support as was given to the Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission. Laws to protect and encourage are quite another thing from laws to appoint and to pay. If the churches had acted in the spirit of the Apostle's reply to Simon Magus, it would have been better for religion and for them; but the many hundreds of places with "pay and emoluments" was demoralizing, and there were too many cases in which the military "cure of souls" was much of the sort that would have been administered by the Samaritan magician.

The position of a chaplain in the field was often made most unhappy, and sometimes quite intolerable, by the abuses of power on the part of regimental officers. The exercise of autocratic power is among the things quickest learned in military life—far quicker than fitting one's self to use it. The public used to laugh at the story of the Colonel on the Potomac ordering a detail of fifty men to be baptized because he would not be outdone by a neighboring regiment in which forty had received the rite. The author of the fable was hitting off the almost equally absurd things which ill-balanced possessors of authority would do. It was no uncommon thing for a colonel to treat a chaplain with studied insult, to mouth bigger oaths than common in his presence, and to browbeat and abuse him if by word or look the victim rebuked it. If economy of transportation and of means forced the chaplain to be one of the headquarters mess, he might have to live in closest intimacy with men who thought they were asserting their own independence by outraging his convictions and feelings on every occasion. He could not escape contact with wild carousal and gambling if he would. Of course such a state of things might be the exception and not the rule, but that it was of frequent occurrence every experienced officer of the civil war knows. If the chaplain were a man of character and ability, he would in time acquire influence over his companions, or he would prefer charges which would subject them to the discipline of a court-martial; but if he were timid and weak, he would live in torment, becoming a toady to make his position bearable, losing his self-respect and the respect of others.

In a country having an established church, the bishops and other dignitaries would exert their ecclesiastical powers both to discipline and guide their subordinates, and to protect them from imposition or abuse; but with us an army chaplain was, if he chose to be, free from all church supervision and control, as he was also isolated from the support and protection which a strong organization may give. This is another reason why a government like ours should not meddle with appointments to a religious charge, for the selection and commissioning implies a subsequent supervision and discipline which it can neither exercise nor commit to an ecclesiastical body.

We have thus added to Chaplain Trumbull's book a chapter which he has been chary of discussing, though he touches, here and there, upon the unfit appointments, the good men who had no adaptation for camp life, and the butts of the regiment who had an urgent call "to go for the mail" when firing began. He also mentions a small class of fighting chaplains, one of whom was killed, rifle in hand, in the streets of Fredericksburg, and another, in North Carolina, cheering on the men in action. Of eleven reported to have been killed in action, most may have been performing some legitimate

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duty under fire, though the military rule is that non-combatants have no business in the line. They forfeit their protected character when they are there, and are neglecting urgent duty among the wounded that are carried off the field. Priests sometimes fought among the guerillas of Spain in the war with Napoleon, but, by doing so, they gave an extra tinge of barbarism to the conflict and provoked shocking retaliation.

A sound organization of chaplains' work in an active army would bring all the ministers in a division into recognized and authoritative relations to each other, with some administrative supervision in the joint council or in the ranking chaplain. The chaplains of a brigade might mess together, and be saved from enforced intimacy of social life with men maliciously disposed. Such a little organization would make a wholesome stimulus in the work of each, a mutual support against demoralization, and a mutual protection against tyranny. If it made reports of work to the division commander, it would find in many ways a great advantage in a quasi-staff relation to an officer accustomed to heavy responsibilities and comparatively broad views. The work of each chaplain would still be in his own regiment, with the possibility of providing for temporary service with detachments through the assistance of the organized body.

Mr. Trumbull's chapters on Religious Services in the Field, on Chapels, on Sermons, on Pastoral Work, are full of interesting matter, and very suggestive of the way in which coöperation of the kind above mentioned would raise and improve the whole service. Gen. Sherman has been credited with the saying that army chaplaincies were *meant* to be a humbug. What *he* meant was that the legal provision was merely an effort to obey a supposed popular demand in a matter which was in its nature incongruous with our political system—a hollow makeshift. A hearty effort on the part of the religious denominations of the country to solve the problem could not fail to improve the existing system, and might lead to the more radical solution which we have suggested. The present organization of a large army of regulars and volunteers offers unusual opportunity for investigation in this field if they choose to profit by it.

Cyrano de Bergerac. By Edmond Rostand. Translated from the French by Gladys Thomas and Mary F. Guillemard. R. H. Russell. 1898.

Cyrano de Bergerac. By Edmond Rostand. Translated from the French by Gertrude Hall. Doubleday & McClure Co. 1898.

Translators too often undertake their task in the spirit of the interpreter before a mixed jury who, on hearing the phrase "a vaporing puppy," promptly rendered it as *chien à vapeur*. But the collaboration which has produced the first of the two examples named above seems to have been conducted on a different method, which consists in occasionally substituting for the original words or phrases the easiest promptings of guesswork or the evasive quasi-paraphrase that misses both sense and spirit. Thus, *bouquetière, pharamineux, grignoter, toile,* are here respectively presented as shop-girl, marvel, crunch, and woollen (pp. 4, 53, 201, 263); while the following expressions, whether familiar or Cyranesque, are handled with corresponding freedom:

Simple bourgeoise, daughter of plain untitled gentleman (p. 22); *je fais tâter ma canne à leurs rubans,* make them taste my cane (p. 32); *retroussant mon esprit ainsi qu'une moustache,* my spirit bristling high like your moustaches (p. 48); *n'être aimé que pour ce dont on est un instant costumé,* to be loved for beauty—a poor disguise that time so soon wears threadbare (p. 243).

We forbear further examples. What becomes of M. Rostand's poetry under such treatment is already a foregone conclusion. Incidentally noting that the translators' knowledge of quantities is manifested in the verse

> You outrage *Thalia* in insulting me (p. 32),

where the name of the muse is obviously believed to rhyme with "dahlia," we are struck with the fitful way in which this version oscillates between undisguised prose and very improvable blank verse, the selection of the form being apparently determined by its facility and convenience, and in one or two cases relatively simple obstacles are met with summary suppression. For instance, at the end of act i., for the graceful verses

> Et sur son ronflement tintant un bruit fantasque,
> L'entourer de grelots comme un tambour de basque!

no equivalent whatever is offered (p. 70). As for the poetic sense to be expected from this version, no better test of it can be found than in the attempt at reproducing in English verses M. Rostand's lovely description of Gascony in eight lines (act iv., sc. 3):

> Ecoutez, les Gascons . . . ce n'est plus, sous ses doigts,
> Le fifre aigu des camps, c'est la flûte des bois!
> Ce n'est plus le sifflet du combat, sous ses lèvres
> C'est le lent galoubet de nos meneurs de chèvres! . . .
> Ecoutez . . . C'est le val, la lande, la forêt,
> Le petit pâtre brun sous son rouge béret,
> C'est la verte douceur des soirs sur la Dordogne,
> Ecoutez, les Gascons; c'est toute la Gascogne!

The translation of this is at all events literal:

> Hark to the music, Gascons! . . . 'Tis no longer
> The piercing fife of camp—but 'neath his fingers
> The flute of the woods! No more the call to combat,
> 'Tis now the love song of the wandering goatherds! . . .
> Hark! . . . 'tis the valley, the wet *landes,* the forest,
> The sunburnt shepherd-boy with scarlet *béret,*
> The dusk of evening on the Dordogne river,—
> 'Tis Gascony! Hark, Gascons, to the music!

"If this," said Campbell of Byron's blank verse in Werner, "be poetry, then we were wrong in taking his Lordship's preface for prose."

The second attempt stands in a very different category, for it makes no struggle after what is likely to remain unattainable until some perfectly bilingual and erudite poet sets a brave hand to the task. In the meantime, this generally faithful prose version will be of service to playgoers ignorant of French. Still, the conscientious translator must bear with us if we point out that, "La dentelle surtout des canons, coupez-la!" does not mean "Snip off the *canonical gentlemen's* lace" (p 8). *Canon,* in such a connection, is more commonly understood to signify a sort of seventeenth-century pantalette—not worn by women. Slips of this nature are not, however, the exclusive failing of translators, for did not Hugo ('L'Homme qui Rit') imagine "wapentake" to be an exalted high-constable? But no good reason can be given for the following mistranslations: *La ceinture qui craque,* the Belt and Bosom; *petit gredin,* imp of Satan; *en guise de buffet,* as on a platter trimmed with green; *monarque des drôles,* Man of the Monster Belly; *manteau roussi,* shaggy mantle; *Quai des Orfèvres,* Goldsmiths' Square, etc. Nor can anything be gained by cheap expansion and effort to improve on the original text, as in the appended specimens:

> On ferait une tour rien qu'avec nos tortils.
> Our coats of arms piled up would dwindle in the clouds (p. 85).

> Vous m'offrez du brouet quand j'espérais des crêmes.
> You proffer cider to me when I was hoping for champagne (p. 125.)

> Ah! que ce dernier jour de septembre est donc beau!
> Ma tristesse sourit. Elle qu'Avril offusque,
> Se laisse décider par l'automne, moins brusque.

"How beautiful, this golden hazy waning day of September at its wane! My sorrowful mood, which the exuberant gladness of April offends, Autumn, the dreamy and subdued, lures on to smile" (p. 218).

The best wish one can express for the author of "Cyrano" is an acquaintance with English hazy enough to prevent his realizing the disguises which his hero has been forcibly and hastily made to assume. Brilliant success, it is true, breeds in some men patience with temerity; but if we may read an author's feeling through his personage's words,

> *Son sang se coagule*
> En pensant qu'on y peut changer une virgule
> (act ii., sc. 7).

And translations attempted thus far seem to succeed only in emphasizing what is defective in the plot and grotesque in the leading rôle, by failing to convey the pathos of the central situation, as well as the high-bred courage and grace with which it is met.

The Spanish Revolution. 1868-1875. By Edward Henry Strobel. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 1898.

In some respects Spain is as little known to the outside world as is Central Africa. Its foreign connections are limited to France, for the German support has been withdrawn. Its financial policy has long since closed the foreign markets to its loans, state or corporate; and its internal and colonial troubles have prevented an effective attempt to regain even a small part of the influence it once exerted in European matters. Its political history since 1868 has been a mystery even to those who have made it a study, and the changes in the name of government since that time have been difficult to explain by party movements or principles. Professing to enjoy a suffrage and an elective Cortes, the people are not free to use the one with effect, or to determine the constitution of the other. The ministry of the day decides the results of the elections, and is able to announce before the day of the vote what majority it will have in the Legislature. This is not infrequently a barren victory, as there is no assurance that this majority will continue to exist even for a short time. The intrigue for office is keen and perpetual, and stays at no bargain or coalition.

The curiosities and at the same time the futility of such a system were never more clearly shown than in the seven years that followed the expulsion of Isabella II. A series of experiments in government were instituted and continued until the Restoration brought a reasonable assurance of stability and power to control the greatly divided sentiment of the politicians. It is this period of experiment and failure that is described by

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Mr. Strobel. Possessing singular advantages for obtaining material by his residence in Madrid as the diplomatic representative of the United States, he has told the complicated story clearly and without bias. A mere statement of the facts is sufficient for the history, and constitutes an interesting study of political ineptitude. It has more than a local application, for it goes far to explain the slow development of administration in the Spanish-American republics.

Prim was a good soldier, but an unscrupulous politician. A combination of factions gave him his opportunity, and he used it to dethrone a queen whose rule had been marked by great irregularities in private as well as in public conduct. But Prim was opposed to the monarch and not to the monarchy. The constitution prepared while he was in power declared the form of government to be a monarchy, at a time when no one was ready to name a king. A domestic outbreak enabled the Regency to put down with a strong hand the Republicans, yet this could not remove the real cause of difference over the choice of a monarch. Ferdinand, the ex-King of Portugal and the nearest candidate, declined the honor so precipitately that he was obliged to explain his haste. The Duke of Genoa, then a pupil at Harrow and in the household of Matthew Arnold, was favored because of his connection with the house of Savoy, but his family refused to permit the use of his name. The somewhat dramatic abdication of Isabella in favor of her son, and the even more dramatic duel between two possible candidates, the Duke of Montpensier and his cousin Henri de Bourbon, were followed by the most momentous act of all—the offer of the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern—an offer which was interpreted by France as against her honor and interests, and which led to the Franco-Prussian war. These repeated failures induced Prim to look again to Italy, and the Duke of Aosta, son of Victor Emmanuel, was elected. As Amadeo he accepted the throne.

The assassination of Prim was followed by serious differences in the combination that had chosen Amadeo. The King, who had a sincere desire to represent no one party, was gradually driven to depend upon the radicals, and this alienated beyond recall the other factions. None, not even the radicals themselves, were in favor of the King, for he was a foreigner. Ministry followed ministry in rapid succession, in vain efforts to reach a permanent and loyal basis, but the Cortes was unmanageable, did nothing to bring about a stable reform, and finally, after two dissolutions, accepted the abdication of the King without a murmur of surprise or dissent. The experiment of a democratic monarchy having failed, the Republicans now assumed control and undertook to frame a constitution, mainly the work of Castelar, which closely followed that of the United States. It was never put to the test, for the difficulties of the Government accumulated too rapidly to permit a trial. There were serious cantonal, Carlist, and Cuban insurrections; the European Powers distrusted the republic, and refused to recognize it; and, worst of all, the ever-present questions of Church and finance were pressing for settlement. Four Presidents held office for short terms, and no sooner was one seated than his followers began to intrigue for his deposition. The last of the series, Castelar, accomplished most and promised more; for he was no longer the ardent, almost extreme, Republican he once was, but was earnest for order and authority, to restore which dictatorial powers were conferred upon him. Even this could not save him from party intrigues, and, refusing to retain office by force, he resigned. Once more the power was in the hands of a soldier, Serrano, who was overthrown by an army intrigue and a restoration accomplished through Martinez Campos.

Such, in brief, was the record of the seven years, marked by revolutions, Carlist uprisings, and local riots; by military *coups d'état*, and by political intrigues and changes so rapid as to defy classification. When an obstacle is encountered by an administration, Cortes is dissolved and a majority obtained in the new body. Ministries resign or are overturned on matters so petty that they hardly rise above the dignity of nursery squabbles. The party changes are admirably detailed by Mr. Strobel. We wish he had been more full on the side of finance. The domestic and foreign debt was more than doubled in these years, and the propositions made by different Finance Ministers were too often tainted with dishonesty to win support. This is a phase that deserves careful study as a supplement to Mr. Strobel's painstaking and admirable political essay.

Silva Maniliana congessit Joh. P. Postgate. Cambridge (Eng.). 1897. Pp. vii, 72.

The star of Manilius seems at present to be in the ascendant. Twenty years ago the astronomer-poet was so sadly neglected that it did not occur to Lewis and Short to quote him even in illustrating the use of such words as *sidus*, *signum*, and *astrum*, which he employs perhaps more frequently than any other Latin writer does. But all that is changed now. Long and favorable estimates of the merits of Manilius as a poet find a place now even in popular manuals of Latin literary history, like the handbook of Mackail, for instance, and technical papers upon his work appear in rapid succession. This is notably true in England, where the last ten years have witnessed the appearance, in the field of textual criticism alone, of the 'Noctes Manilianae' and the collation of the Madrid MS. by Ellis, of a series of conjectures for book i. by Housman, and of the work before us. Perhaps this revival of interest in Manilius may be traced in part to the publication of two monographs in 1878 and 1888 respectively. One of these, Bechert's dissertation, 'De M. Manilii emendandi ratione,' established what must be recognized in the main as a sound basis for the textual criticism of the poet, and the other, the 'Lucubrationes Manilianae' of P. Thomas, offered a complete collation of G. with Jacob's text. The time would, therefore, seem to be almost ripe for the preparation of a new edition of the text to take the place of Jacob's, which can now be improved at many points. But the establishment of the text of Manilius will call for a rare combination of qualities on the part of an editor. He must not only be a scholar of keen insight and sound judgment, but, also, to quote the phrase used by Ellis in another connection, *astrologiæ peritus et astrorum*.

Postgate, in the volume before us, has a twofold purpose. In chapter i. he releases some verses from the ban which Bentley put upon them, and in chapter ii. he selects for emendation others which escaped even Bentley's suspicious eye. The work is a brilliant contribution to the criticism of the text of Manilius, and in many cases one is tempted to ask why so simple and probable an emendation has never occurred to any critic before. A case in point is verse 135:

Hinc fidae mentes trenebundaque corda creantur.

Here *infidae* is conjectured for the impossible *hinc fidae* with great probability. On v. 280-1, which in the accepted text reads,

> Et si forte labor ruris tardaverit artes
> Quis sine nulla Ceres, non ullus seminis usus,

Thomas remarked in 1888, "Huiusmodi igitur sententiam requiro: *Et si forte natura eis negaverit vires ad opus ruri faciendum, exercebunt artes sine quibus*, etc. Sed emendationem nondum inveni." Postgate has cleverly given to the passage the meaning which Thomas felt it must have by simply changing *ruris* to *viris* and by placing a comma after *tardaverit*. By an equally simple and convincing emendation, suggested by Martial VI. 28, 8, the meaning of III. 590-617 is made clear for the first time. One more passage may be cited in illustration, where the boldness of the critic is almost worthy of Bentley, for whom Postgate expresses an unbounded admiration. In G. II. 619 *sqq.* read as follows:

> *At quin* Lanigeri partus sub utroque trigono
> Non *parcit* sed rara gerit pro tempore bella
> Quod feritas utriusque magis pro tempore *cogit*.
> Plus tamen in duplici numerandum est roboris *esse*,
> Cui commixtus homo est quam te, Nemeaee, sub uno.
> Idcirco et pax est signis et mixta querella.

Accepting the emendation which had been made before, of *gerunt* for *gerit*, for the italicized words our author reads *atqui*, *pacem*, *surgit*, and *ipse*, transferring the comma from the end of the verse to a position after *roboris*.

A brilliant critic, especially if he has a fine appreciation of the subtleties of a language, is liable to see serious textual difficulties which do not exist. This charge cannot properly be made against Postgate in many cases. He is well aware of the unevenness of Manilius and of his frequent harshness of expression, and he does not try to make the poet say what he ought to have said. Of course all of Postgate's conjectures will not find a place in our next accepted text. Probably a majority of them will not. For instance, in I. 470 Housman's *tum lumina* seems preferable to *tum lunae*, and in III. 325 Jacob's *regens gressum*, for *gradus gressum*, the reading of G., is better than Postgate's conjecture, *gradus urgens*.

It would be out of place here to enter into a technical discussion of any of the individual conjectures made by Postgate, but in the matter of general critical methods a word should be said against the free use which he has made of transposition. A change in the order of words is a common error of scribes, but the transposition of lines is far more unusual, and where we are certain that such a mistake has been made, the cause of it can often be discovered in the context or in the condition of the archetype. To resort, therefore, to frequent and violent changes in the order of verses, as Postgate does, seems unjustifiable. Thus, in the passage beginning with I. 128, the order adopted is 128, 129, 171, 172, 130; after I. 421 he places 429, 428; after IV. 265 come 267, 268, 266, 269. In these passages no other reasons than exegetical ones are given in support of the changes which are proposed or accepted.

By way of an appendix to the conjectures contained in chapters i. and ii., in chapter iii. the author discusses the value of the Madrid MS., and gives an interesting summary of the commonest errors made by

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scribes in the MSS. of Manilius. We are glad to learn that this valuable list will be supplemented by Bechèrt in the near future. This work belongs to a branch of the science of textual criticism which has been sadly neglected. There is great need of a collection and classification of errors for each one of the principal book-hands, based upon a comparison of an archetype with a direct copy. Lindsay, in his 'Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation,' has done this for the capitals and Caroline minuscules, but, until a similar work is done for the other styles of writing also, textual emendation must often rest on an insecure basis.

The Rainbow's End: Alaska. By Alice Palmer Henderson. Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co. 1898. 8vo, pp. iv, 296. Illustrated.

This is an account of a journey by Mrs. Henderson from Chicago to Tacoma, Unalashka, St. Michael's, and up the Yukon to Dawson. In it are recorded the impressions of a traveller who appears to have been wholly inexperienced in frontier life, exceptionally credulous of gossip, avid of sprightly tales, and careless in verifying random statements. Her adventures are related in a lively and amusing manner, are illustrated by numerous very good "process" pictures, and have been issued by the publishers in a very attractive form, only wanting a map and index to be unreservedly commended so far as outward form goes. The brightness and good nature, superficiality, inaccuracy, and cocksureness of the average American young woman stand out in bold relief on every page. This is the first typical "tourist" book on the Yukon, though southeastern Alaska has been the subject of a dozen of them. As long as the scenery serves as a text for the enthusiasm of such writers, we have no quarrel with them; but when, as usually is the case, the residents, native and white, are caricatured or misrepresented in a way no one would dare to use toward their own neighbors and fellow-citizens, there is room for some righteous indignation. Trifling and unimportant as this class of books may seem, they do much to form opinion in the average reader, and to this sort of opinion, no doubt, is due a large part of the indifference with which the general public has regarded the disgraceful mismanagement of Alaskan affairs by the Government. If we are led to believe a country is inhabited by degraded natives, whose religion is only "gross superstition," who are dirty, immoral, and disgusting, and by whites who spend their time in low dance-houses and despise missionaries, it is not unnatural that we should acquiesce easily in leaving them to laws and officials as imperfect, lax, or obnoxious as themselves. This would seem poetically just, however incongruous with our ideal democracy. Even the average missionary comes to his work with a store of such preconceived ideas; and it very naturally happens that everything which puts the non-missionary population in the depths of degradation, finds a place in the reports which are sent home to raise funds for the elevation of the Alaskans. The blacker the report, the larger the contributions of the benevolent; but this does not heighten the local popularity of the missionary, and so the vicious circle is continued.

Economically, it is unimportant that Mrs. Henderson should call the slaty murres "white birds," or should ascribe the purchase of Alaska in 1867 to a desire to prevent foreign nations from recognizing the Confederacy which collapsed in 1865. But the case is somewhat different when her errors and misconceptions relate to living people. What one learns of the natives, if one lives long enough among them with an open mind, is, that they bear an extraordinary resemblance in essentials to "folks." It is true they are often as dirty as some of the Christians of the East Side, and partake of equally ill-smelling dishes, but it is not because they prefer it, but because one cannot keep clean without soap, and soap is worth on the Yukon about the equivalent of ten dollars a cake in trade. Bathing in the icy streams of the Yukon valley is torture, but the Indian invented and frequently uses a hot steam bath. Any philanthropist who wishes to do good to the natives of Alaska can far surpass the average missionary by sending up a cargo of soap for free distribution. The religious ideas of the natives may be "gross superstition" from our standpoint, but they accomplished for ages some good things which we might do well to copy. In what Christian country can a man leave property of inestimable value, such as a gun has for an Alaskan Indian, in a tree in full view of passers-by, for weeks, and return to find it safe? In what Christian community can a stranger enter any house in it with a certainty of finding shelter for the night and a share of such food as the owner possesses?

It is very natural that the tourist on the Yukon from an old and settled community should be curious in regard to the sins of the dance-house and groggery, as rampant at Dawson as in some parts of Chicago. In default of mail and newspapers, these establishments furnish most of the gossip on the Yukon. They are naked and not ashamed. But for every hundred men who waste their substance in the desperate endeavor to break the dreary monotony of life among the frozen placers, under the Arctic night, there are a thousand toiling mightily for wife, children, and home, quitting themselves like men. "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together"; the gambler and barkeeper follow the miner on the trail. Where the way is too difficult, as at the gates of the Passes, the scum is left behind to form a human cesspool, as was the case at Skagway for a time.

If one desires to describe a social condition or a people such as those on the Yukon, it is unfair and wrong to dwell on the evil traits of a minority, or on customs which are the result of a pitiless environment, as if there were not behind it all human hearts, passions and ambitions, self-denial, charity, and courage. Not that Mrs. Henderson is, in her thoughtless superficiality, a sinner above many others, but we have used her book as a text (as it is the first, probably, of many to come), in the hope that our present sermonizing may awaken a greater sense of responsibility in those who may attempt to describe for others the passing phases of Alaskan development.

Aetolia: its Geography, Topography, and Antiquities. By William J. Woodhouse, M.A., F.R.G.S. With maps and illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.

This is the day of specializing in every line of research, topography not excepted. What in topography corresponds with the district survey, as opposed to the mere route survey of the engineer, is the only kind of research countenanced by the exact science of the day. Consequently, Mr. Woodhouse has done well to limit his researches to one province of northern or continental Greece. Thanks to this fact, he has produced the most important work of its kind since the time of the honest and careful Leake. Moreover, he has been fortunate in the selection of a comparatively open field—one that has been unduly shunned, not alone by modern travellers, but in great measure by Pausanias as well. Mr. Woodhouse's chief object has been to give a more or less exhaustive account of the natural or physical characteristics of the country, but his broad humanity leads him not only to fix the sites of ancient towns and the scenes of historical events of classical times, but also to treat of the sites of events in the history of later Greece. He says truly that history attains its full value only by borrowing actuality from geography and topography, and in this he is supported by the somewhat exaggerated contention of Mr. Ramsay:

"Topography is the foundation of history. No one who has familiarized himself with Attic history in books, and has afterwards ascended Pentelicus and seen that history spread before him in the valleys and mountains and sea that have moulded it, will ever disbelieve in the value of topography as an aid to history. . . . Yet few that study Greek history, and play the part of examiner or examinee in it, realize what we owe to the greatest of modern topographers, Leake. Who that goes through the usual course of highest honors in ancient history and literature, ever hears the fame of Leake, or knows that he has done more to make a real understanding of Greek life possible than any other Englishman of this century? We all know Curtius's 'History of Greece'; how many of us know a finer and greater work, Curtius's 'Peloponnesos'? Some of us are even so narrow as to imagine that the reading of some modern books, supplemented by a little study of Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon (a few reach Polybius—how few go deeper!), will enable us to understand ancient history. If we want to understand the ancients, and especially the Greeks, we must breathe the same air that they did, and saturate ourselves with the same scenery and the same nature that wrought upon them. For this end correct topography is a necessary, though humble, servant."

Despite the fundamental correctness of this utterance, there are several points in it which might be disputed with success. However that may be, it is the underlying principle on which Mr. Woodhouse has built his work. All will agree with him that Ramsay's 'Historical Geography' is "a thesaurus of knowledge," but few will admit that it is "a very text-book of topographical *method*," for the reason that not many serious books have been hurled together, so to speak, as unmethodically as has this. Mr. Woodhouse not only adopts the virtues of his prototype, and they are certainly many, but some of his vices as well. Like Ramsay, he often displays inability to write plain, straightforward, understandable English, and his presentation of facts is often slovenly and wearisome. But, for all that, his work cannot be dispensed with by any one who would gain an accurate knowledge of Aetolia and Aetolian geography, which, on the whole, is not at all complicated and presents few great problems.

The book itself is beautiful, and is abundantly illustrated with maps and excellent reproductions of photographs.

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Geschichte der Musik in England. Zweiter Teil. Von Dr. Wilibald Nagel. New York: Lemcke & Buechner.

The history of music in England is a good deal like England itself: there are some picturesque lakes and peaceful valleys, charming villas and fine cathedrals, but the mountains are low, and there is not a single Alpine summit crowned with eternal snow. In the first volume of his history, Dr. Nagel was called upon to record only one masterpiece (for its time), the canon "Sumer is icumen in," which indicated that England was ahead of the Continent in the technique of composition; but it was an isolated phenomenon and did not create an epoch. In this second volume, which brings his task to a close, he takes us from John of Dunstable to Henry Purcell, the immediate precursor of the imported Handel. Purcell is certainly a peak; the English have made a sort of sacred Fuji of him, yet, in truth, he is not a snow mountain, being hardly visible from the Continent. The chapter which Dr. Nagel devotes to him includes an excellent summary of what is known of the only school of national opera England has ever had—for Gilbert and Sullivan's works are operettas.

Dr. Nagel cannot find the "English school of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," of which Coussemaker speaks—that is, he cannot find a group of composers having in common certain peculiarities of style that might be called typically English. He finds, on the other hand, many evidences of England's being influenced by the Netherland school, which at that time ruled Continental music and continued to do so for several generations. There is nothing specifically English in Dunstable and his contemporaries; to them music is little more than *Tonspielerei*—dallying with tones—the expression of feeling being as yet out of the question. In technique the English composers appear to have equalled the Netherlanders, and it must be said to their credit that they avoided the most aggravated tricks and artifices of composition by which some of their rivals degraded themselves to the level of charlatans; but, on the other hand, the England of this whole period has no master comparable to Josquin, who did not make technique an end in itself, but a means to the expression of ideas and emotions. The English composers of the fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries were not prophets, but listeners to echoes which the Netherlanders had left behind them.

The branch of music in which England shows to best advantage is the madrigal (unaccompanied vocal compositions in several voices), of which the modern glee is an outcome. In these pieces the melodies do not appear to have been invented merely from the point of adaptability for contrapuntal development, but seem genuine, spontaneous, and in consonance with the spirit of the words to which they are sung. The same spirit is found in Purcell's dramatic works. Unluckily Purcell allowed himself to be too much influenced by the taste of the hour, giving up opera and devoting himself to what the populace wanted. This disposition Dr. Nagel notes as a weakness of the English composers in general; they stoop to conquer. Another old English trait in the musical sphere is the aversion to abstract speculation and theory. In the days of Elizabeth even the theoretical writers, of whom there were very few, avoided discussing the topic of the resurrected interest in Greek music. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, when music was becoming more and more a social art, Morley was quite disgusted when he found himself called upon to devote himself to theoretical questions.

The æsthetic side was less neglected. Lawes agreed with Milton in complaining of the difficulty of making a musical use of the English language; his own aim was, he explained, "to shape Notes to the Words and Sense," to make the musical accent always coincide with the poetic. The author cites in the appendix a little known letter of Milton to Master Sam. Hartlieb, in which he recommends that a youth's speech be "fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the vowels. For we Englishmen, being far northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air wide enough to grace a southern tongue, but are observed by all other nations to speak exceeding close and inward; so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth is as ill-hearing as low French." Milton also declares his belief in the utility of music in morals and hygiene: "Sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop . . . have a great power over dispositions and manners to smoothe and make them gentle from rustick harshness and distempered passions. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune & satisfaction."

A peculiarity of music in England is that, more than anywhere else, it was affected by political and religious changes. To these Dr. Nagel gives brief attention, especially to the antics of the Puritans and the attacks on the Mass, which, he says, were made "in a shameless, outrageous manner, and with a rudeness that defied all moral sensibility." Socially, too, the musicians suffered much. Taverner, having been found harboring forbidden books and pamphlets, was, unlike the other culprits, set free, on the ground that he was "only a musician," from whom, presumably, outside of music, nothing sensible could be expected. Public opinion made music and her serious devotees suffer for the irregularities and vices of the wandering minstrels. It may be added that Dr. Nagel's second volume is written in a less involved style than his first and that it is beautifully printed. The footnotes are relegated to the back, and the reformed spelling is used, the essence of which seems to be a war of extermination on the mute letter h.

A Dictionary of the Yiddish Language. Compiled by Alexander Harkavy. New York: Published by the Author. 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi, 352.

In the Middle Ages, as even to-day in countries of oppression, the Jews have used their Hebrew alphabet in transcribing the languages of the Gentiles among whom they lived. As a rule, the transcription is purely phonetic, and in that way the older writings of the Spanish, French, Greek, and German Jews form a very valuable material for philological studies of the corresponding countries at the periods of their composition. Only when widely separated from the influence of their Christian fellow-citizens, the language taken with them into exile begins to deteriorate, or to develop independently. This has happened with the Spanish which is spoken by the Sephardic Jews of the Balkan Peninsula, in Asia Minor, and on the northern coast of Africa, where, under the name of Ladino, one may hear even now a group of dialects which, in enunciation, resembles more the language of Cervantes than the native modern language of Spain, though slightly affected in vocabulary by Turkish, Arabic, or Slavic elements. The same thing has taken place with the German of the Jews who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, fled from the Middle Rhine into Poland, where they found a hospitable reception from its kings and nobles. Under Slavic environments and subject to Hebrew training, the Jews have evolved the Yiddish, or Judeo-German, which is nothing else than the local dialects of the Middle Rhine, in which 30 per cent. of Hebrew and Slavic words have been substituted for the original German.

From the sixteenth century up to the present there has been produced a vast literature (mostly of a popular character) for the Jews of the Slavic countries, which, for lack of native initiative, also became the literature of their German coreligionists. It early attracted the attention of Christian scholars and missionaries, who devoted some remarks to the peculiarities of the language contained in it. Buxtorf, Wagenseil, and later Callenberg, Chrysander, Selig, and several others, have written grammars and dictionaries of the Judeo-German. In our century has appeared the large work of Avé-Lallemant, which contains both a grammar and a dictionary of the language. None of these, it is true, is exhaustive, as they confine themselves mainly to noting the Hebrew part of the composite tongue.

Of late Yiddish has developed, in Russia and America, an astonishing activity, and in the course of fifty years it has produced a large and noteworthy literature. The names of the classical writers, such as Aksenfeld, Abramowitsch, S. Rabinowitsch, Frug, Perec, Rosenfeld, deserve to be known to a larger class of readers, and their works would well pay translating. There have also been written dictionaries of Judeo-German, two of which deserve special mention—the Russian-Yiddish dictionary of I. Dreisin, and the Russian-Yiddish and Yiddish-Russian dictionaries of O. M. Lifschitz. The first reached a fourth edition in 1892, and contains 832 pages. Lifschitz's works are storehouses of valuable and rare definitions (the first edition was published in 1876 at Zhitomir), and fill 648 closely printed large octavo pages.

After these preliminaries, one can easily see how ridiculous the introductory words of the author under discussion are. He says in the preface:

"The present work is the *first attempt at a Yiddish Dictionary, and therefore an entirely original production.* In the compilation of this book *the author has had no predecessors to follow,* and thus the work undertaken has been very difficult; it has consisted in gathering the stray words of the language, in arranging them alphabetically, and in poring over their definitions. This dictionary is the product of six years' indefatigable labor."

In comparing the first page of Lifschitz's Yiddish-Russian Dictionary with this work, one finds the following words absent from the latter: *obode, obid, obchod, ewentow, obcas, obcwenge, obce, obrot, ogrod, ogrodnik, odlche, aderof.* At this rate, the author has omitted 3,000 words which he might easily have copied out of his predecessor. In reading the first page of Aksenfeld's classic 'Dos Schterentichel,' the following words were

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found absent from Harkavy's work: *schterentichel, redne, sich reissen* (strive), *lerow, hosn* (hareskin), *kehren* (belong), *staren sich, sarwer, chosserdejenik*, and several others of Hebrew origin. But these faults are not the worst in the book, for the grammatical forms are for the most part incomplete and entirely wrong; one will in vain look for the plural *naronim* of *nar* (fool), while for *kunst* Harkavy gives the German plural *Künste* instead of the Judeo-German *kunsten* or *kinst*. This will suffice to prove the absurdity of the author's claims, which, to be lenient with him, we shall suppose are the result of insufficient knowledge. His diligence, if he knew nothing of any previous sources, cannot be denied, and his work may still be of use to such Russian Jews as wish to discover the English meaning of a Yiddish word, and to those who want to read Yiddish, although in many cases the dictionary will fail them.

Colonial Mobile: An Historical Study, largely from original sources, of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin, from the discovery of Mobile Bay in 1519 until the demolition of Fort Charlotte in 1821. By Peter J. Hamilton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1898. Pp. xii, 446.

Mr. Hamilton's attractive volume has, of course, primarily a local interest, but its breadth and thoroughness give it value in a wider sphere. Mobile had a varied early history. Visited by Piñeda, Bazares, De Soto, and other Spanish explorers, and mapped and claimed for Charles V. and his successors, it became, after a century of obscurity, the French capital in the days of Iberville and Bienville, and saw the progress of the commercial ventures of Crozat, Cadillac, and John Law. Then, losing its preëminence as the capital, and becoming instead the administrative centre of the eastern department, it passed, in 1763, into English control, only to be taken again by the Spanish in 1780, in whose hands it remained until its capture by the Americans under Gen. Wilkinson in 1813. As a centre of French and Spanish influence, the natural outlet for an extensive Indian trade, and the most important military and commercial point between Pensacola and New Orleans, the history of Mobile is more than the history of a single town; and Mr. Hamilton has added to the interest and value of his work by emphasizing, as occasion offered, the points of contact with a larger world.

For the rest, the book is a minute account of the early history of the city—its streets, its houses, its public buildings, its fortifications, and its old families. The difficult subject of the early land-grants and titles is given special attention. The claim of the author to original research is amply borne out by these portions of his work. He has used, for the first time, the invaluable Mobile church records for the period subsequent to 1704, the early court and land records, the Haldimand papers, and such collections as Margry's 'Découvertes.' The illustrations, drawn mainly from contemporary sources, are finely done, and add much to the value of the book.

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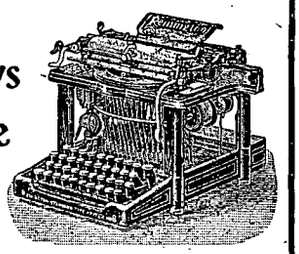

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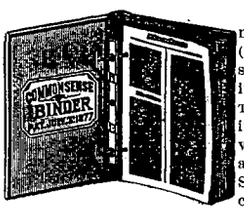

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